CELTICISM A MYTH.

BY

JAMES CRUIKSHANK ROGER,

OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW;
A FELLOW OF THE ROYAL ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY;
OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND;
AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN
ANTIQUARIES, COPENHAGEN.

"He that has a mind to believe, has half assented already; and he that, by often arguing against his own sense, imposes falsehood on others, is not far from believing himself."—*Locke*.

SECOND EDITION.

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MDCCCLXXXIX.


R. O. SCOTLAND

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I DEDICATE THIS,

MY SECOND EDITION OF THE

CELTIC MYTH,

TO THE FELLOWS OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES,

WHOM MORE THAN OTHERS

IT CONCERNS TO VINDICATE

THEIR NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES

AGAINST THE FIGMENTS

AND UNFOUNDED ASSUMPTIONS

OF THE

ADVOCATES OF CELTIC

CIVILIZATION.

PREFACE.

I PRESENT the reader with additional matter on the subject of the Celtic myth. The term *Celticism* was first employed by me in 1871 in replying to a communication in *Notes and Queries*, headed *The English Descent of Daniel O'Connell.* The ordinary dictionary significance is "A Celtic custom or idiom." Ogilvy calls it "The manners and customs of the Celts." The word is near enough for my purpose, and it saves a good deal of circumlocution. A correspondent[1] informs me that he has "not the slightest interest in mere dead archæology." All archæology, as I think, is dead. There is nothing but the dry bones to be pieced together. Beyond this it is mere romance, not worth the care and labour of a thoughtful man, and yet the masses of *prehistoric* rubbish that one everywhere meets with is truly astounding—voluminous treatises containing elaborate statements of the most dogmatic and improbable character in

1 Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.

relation to alleged customs and events of which we possess no knowledge whatever, and this is what some men gravely call *science*. Archæology so considered is the most worthless study that can occupy the human mind. Absolute ignorance is but total absence of knowledge. False facts[2]—I use the term advisedly—mislead the judgment and baffle the understanding.

Though Celtic culture has now no reality to my perceptions, my predilections were not always Scandinavian. I was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, having at the commencement of my career been initiated into the mysteries of Celtic art by one of its great magicians, the late Mr. John Stuart,[3] who has recorded my connection with the myth in the first of the Spalding Club volumes on the sculptured stones. Describing the Govan sarcophagus, he says:—"Through the good offices of Dr. Leishman and Mr. J. C. Roger various diggings and probings of the ground were made in the hope of discovering such cists, but without effect." The

2 Things assumed to be facts that are not facts, which, though taken for granted, rest upon no kind of solid foundation—plausible fictions clothed in the livery of truth.

3 John Stuart, LL.D., one of the Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, author of the Spalding Club volumes entitled *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, &c.

late Dr. Leishman, to whom, with myself, Dr. Stuart expresses his acknowledgments, was Minister of Govan. We were, in fact, searching for evidences of the Celtic monastery alleged to be founded at Govan by the Cornish King Constantine in the sixth century, though for all practical purposes we would have been as profitably employed in endeavouring to fix the position of the reaping-hook bestridden by Daniel O'Rourke on the occasion of his visit to the moon. I had shown myself so apt a disciple of the Celtic school that I was consulted by Mr. Stuart and the late Joseph Robertson as to the person best fitted to collect into a single volume the whole of the sculptured stones of the West of Scotland, which my other avocations precluded me from undertaking myself. I fear, however, I eventually forfeited the good opinion of those distinguished fabulists in ridiculing a caricature which appears as the frontispiece illustration of the first volume of *The Sculptured Stones*, and is intended as a representation of the Forteviot sculpture formerly at Freeland House. My attention had been directed to it by the late Mr. W. T. Macculloch, keeper of the Antiquaries' Museum, and the incident presented a temptation too strong to resist.

Taking up the subject of the Scotch sculptured stones in connection with the theory of Celtic culture and native art as a relaxation from more irksome occupation, I prosecuted my research in my own way, and found the facts constantly pointing against me. My doubts and perplexities continuing to increase, I put to my instructor interrogatories of a searching character such as appeared to me to probe the question to the bottom. His replies were altogether unsatisfactory, and forced me to the conclusion that the theory which he advocated was untenable. Paradoxical though it may appear, I reached the exclusively Scandinavian theory through the pages of the *Prehistoric Annals*, finding therein facts from which, by the ordinary process of induction, I felt impelled to an opposite conclusion, and this before I had read a line of Pinkerton or Jamieson, whose masterly disquisitions banished for ever from my mind the last lingering remains of the Celtic myth.

The author of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, in his intercourse and correspondence with myself, seemed to argue inversely from the unknown and impossible to things acknowledged and ascertained, and sought to mitigate inferences from known facts by conjectures and

assumptions of his own. He excluded from his mind the conception patent to all the world beside, that "it is one thing to examine into facts, and quite another to seek for proofs of a foregone conclusion." His method of fixing the era of the sculptured stones always suggested to me the expedient of the eccentric individual, who to descend from the clouds to the firm earth, cut his rope off at the top and tied it on to the bottom.

It is pleasing to reflect that neither the ignorance of George Chalmers, nor the learning of Dr. Skene, nor the vagaries of Sir Daniel Wilson, nor the astuteness of Cosmo Innes, nor the circular reasoning of Dr. John Stuart, nor the combined efforts of that innumerable company of servile imitators who adopt the conclusions of those Celtic fabulists, have been able to abate one jot or one tittle of the claims of the Northman. To his indomitable spirit and intellectual prowess we owe all that is great in the history of these islands. "The British race," says an able writer, "has been called Anglo-Saxon; made up, however, as it is, of many elements—ancient Briton, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Dane, Norman, and Scandinavian—the latter predominates so largely over the others, as to

prove by evidence, external and internal, and not to be gainsaid, that the Scandinavians are our true progenitors." Let him who will, deduce his origin from the shiftless savage of the British isles, I am content to believe myself of that great Teutonic stock, which has ruled the world in the past, and will rule it to the end of time.

Among the latest dreams of Celtic civilisation are the vagaries of a Rhind lecturer, delivered in Edinburgh in 1886, which bear the same relation to science, or fact, or anything useful, as the Determination of Stellar Parallax to the intersecting links of a Chinese puzzle. The lectures were an absolute failure, being thinly attended by an incredulous auditory collected together with considerable difficulty. To add, if possible, to the grotesqueness of the situation, the last of the series was presided over by the curator of the Society's Numismatic Collection,[1] who probably felt *bored* in being obliged to listen to a subject in which he took not the slightest interest. I have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that the only civilization of which we possess any knowledge, save

1 The late Mr. George Sim, who confessed to me he knew nothing of the subject.

that which followed in the track of the Roman legion, was brought hither by the Scandinavians who conquered and colonized the greater part of North Britain,[2] and by the advent of the Roman monk, the priests of those monastic fraternities who found their way thither in the beginning of the twelfth century; and if anyone shall hereafter thrust upon the reclaiming intelligence of an Edinburgh assembly the "purposeless tortuosities of Celtic falsehood, and its most subtile manifestations"[3] he ought to do so "in the manner of the ancient Spartans, with a rope about his neck waiting the decision of the audience."

The Grange,
Walthamstow.
September, 1889.

2 I am far from believing that the Northman incursions and settlements were limited to the Danish invasions of the ninth century.

3 *Weekly Scotsman*, Feb. 12, 1887. (Memoirs of Lord Deas). Tortuous of necessity. It is difficult to give form to the non-existent.

INTRODUCTION.

It would appear that I have not sufficiently consulted the dignity of the subject in quoting from Pinkerton, who, according to Canon Taylor, is never now referred to as an authority. He is never cited by disputants maintaining what I call the *Celtic myth* for the simple reason that his views strike at the root of their whole system, which assumes without an atom of evidence an absolute impossibility. Pinkerton was, what I have elsewhere stated him to be, the most scholarly antiquary of his age—a giant among pigmies, the possessor of a powerful intellect with the rare combination of strong practical sense, *plus* that larger range of vision that culture always bestows. No one could more promptly turn a fallacy inside out. His drastic manner of dealing with the contentions of an adversary was perhaps objectionable, but a fact is not the less a fact however enunciated. It was he who first indicated the descent of the Royal House of Stuart from the Anglo-Norman family of Fitz Alan, though Cosmo Innes and others have assigned the merit of that discovery

to George Chalmers who only demonstrated what Pinkerton had already distinctly pointed out.

Canon Taylor seems to be under an impression that my essay is founded on his treatise called *Greeks and Goths*, published in 1879. This, however, was quite unknown to me till my attention was directed to it by himself. In the present edition I have availed myself in a footnote of certain facts relating to the Ogham inscriptions, only drawing from them opposite conclusions. The chief object of Canon Taylor's publication seems to be to prove that the several Runic alphabets were derived by the Goths or Teutons from the Alphabet in use among the Greek colonies on the Euxine. The resemblance between the characters of the Runic alphabets, and those of certain alphabets used at certain periods by the Greeks, it appears to me, admit of an equally satisfactory explanation on the assumption that the Greeks and Goths obtained their alphabetical characters from a common source. It is a fact too well known to be disputed, that the Greek and Gothic languages were derived from some dialect nearly related to Sanscrit. Regarding the more remote periods of their history Pinkerton says, it is not known whether the Goths spoke Greek or the Greeks spoke Gothic.

If in 1879 Canon Taylor originated the idea that Runic characters are modified forms of the letters of the Greek alphabet, it would seem that more than thirty years ago another writer hit upon very much the same thing.

A paper contained in Vol. I., No. 18 of the periodical called *Good Words*, and headed *Our Scandinavian Ancestors*, has the following reference to the origin of the Runic alphabet. "On analysis," the writer says, "these rude letters will be found to be crude forms and abridgments of the Greek or Roman alphabet. We have identified them all, with the exception of a few letters, and are quite satisfied on this point, so simple and obvious is it, although we have not previously had our attention directed to the fact." "The Saxon runes," says a correspondent of the Scottish Antiquaries in 1866,[1] "have much in common with the early Greek characters."

Canon Taylor, in his disquisition, introduces the theory of *Evolution*, to which I am not a convert,[2] he refers incidentally to the "develop-

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[1] Mr. Ralph Carr-Ellison.

[2] "There was an *ape* in the days that were earlier,
A century passed, and his hair it grew curlier,
A century more, and a thumb to his wrist,
Then he was a *man* and a *Positivist*."

ment of the Horse from the Hipparion." by a process, I suppose, much the same as the development of the crocodile from the common lizard, or the boa-constrictor from the conger-eel.

This writer, referring in another place to the doings of Archdeacon Williams in regard to the Celts, informs us that "other industrious explorers have followed the wanderings of this ancient people through Switzerland, Germany, and France, and have shown that in those countries the Celtic speech still lives upon the map, though it has vanished from the glossary," &c. I confess to some scepticism in regard to this kind of statement. Celtic names are in the mouth of everyone, yet, strange to say, no one can state coherently, with any regard to evidence, who were the Celts, which their country, or of what their language consisted. If my memory does not altogether forsake me, Canon Taylor himself, according to a reviewer of the first edtion of his *Words and Places*, tracked "this ancient people" over an English county by a name imposed scarcely twenty years before the publication of his own book! It is not sufficiently known that "Switzerland was named Schweitz, Swedsk, a Swedish colony;" and that "Swecia anciently denoted Sweden and Helvetia." In a

catalogue, descriptive of the contents of the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, printed in 1876, it is stated that among a collection of articles from a "lake dwelling," so called, in the lake of Constance in Switzerland, are "stone balls similar to those from the brochs of the North of Scotland and from Norway." It occurs to me that the stockaded islands called *Crannoges* may be the places once used by the ancient Gothic tribes for the purposes of duelling. A species of combat called *holmgang*, peculiar to the old Northmen, was usually fought on a small island or holm in a lake, and in inland situations within an artificially inclosed space. Another purpose to which some of these may have been devoted is probably explained by Worsaae in his *Danes and Norwegians* pp. 231, 232, 233. In noticing the parish of Thingwall, in Shetland, he says, "The old *Thing* place is still to be seen near the church, in a small holm or island in a lake, connected with the land by a row of large stepping-stones. Secure against a sudden attack, here sat, when the island was free, the 'foude' or magistrate, with his law officers, whilst the multitude of the common people stood round about the shores of the lake, and listened to what passed." "During

the holding of the chief *Thing*," according to the same authority, "a multitude of persons always assembled, and a great many tents and booths were erected, both in the *Thing* itself, and in the immediate vicinity." Chambers, in his *Encyclopædia*, gives a woodcut illustration of a Crannoge with huts restored, such, we are told, as the Swiss archæologists believe them to have been. Little importance, however, can be attached to arbitrary restorations. "History and tradition," Chambers says, "are alike silent as to the pile buildings of the Swiss lakes." Since 1857 stockaded islands have been found in Prussia and Denmark. These things seem to me within the period of authentic history, and for this reason I notice them here. I have neither taste nor talent for "*Prehistoric*" speculation, nor capacity for the *ignotum per ignotius* form of disquisition if indeed anything can be more obscure than that of which nothing is known.

If I be "too sweeping" in regard to the Celts, it is that I can gather no distinct fact from any author to tell me anything of their history, which, in relation to the British islands, so far as I can discover, is an absolute blank. If the Gauls were Celts, their description by Tacitus, founded on the personal knowledge of

the German general Civilis, is certainly not such as those who complacently regard themselves their descendants need feel particularly proud. "The Gauls," he says "were of no account—a race of dastards, and the ready prey of the conqueror." We can well conceive of such a people that they dwelt in mud huts, and "in beehive houses built of uncemented stones," but hardly that they possessed "that variety of culture which is literary and artistic in its character," still less that they were the writers of those "manuscript volumes," which viewed as the alleged productions of an illiterate and savage people, are grotesquely described as "rivalling the best caligraphy of the most literary nations," &c. That a mind in the possession of its faculties should delude itself into the belief of such impossible fiction is truly surprising. As a counterpoise to such palpable fiction I would cite the learned author of *The Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages*, who, with his accustomed regard to the promptings of practical sense, describes the ancient inhabitants of the country now called Scotland, *without art*—"a people," he says, "to all appearance void of contrivance, and destitute of the common necessaries of life." This then

is the race of whom we are requested to believe that they were the artificers of those monuments of art which the votaries of Celtic delusion assign to the aborigines of North Britain. It has not apparently struck the original inventors of this startling theory to enquire how the boasted civilization, which, according to their account, existed in Scotland between the period of the Roman evacuation of Britain and the advent of the Romish Church became extinguished or superseded, or under what conditions or combination of events this enlightened Celtic nation relapsed into barbarism. If the culture, which they allege, ever existed in fact, it falsifies the dictum of Sir Walter Scott, who maintained that when civilization had once made advances it could never be compelled to retrograde. Apart from the priesthood of the Roman Church, I find no evidence of civilization, and to them, and the Scandinavians, and to the Scandinavians under their influence, except what is Roman, I assign every indication of art or civilization found in these islands. Beyond all reasonable doubt the Celts had no art, and of the multitude who out of the recesses of their imagination have vainly sought to maintain their pre-eminence, not one has adduced in evidence a

single *fact* in support of an assumption in itself so improbable. Of ecclesiastical art or writing which preceded the Roman Church of the twelfth century, at least as regards the United Kingdom, we have apparently no remains. I am aware of many opinions to the contrary. There is however a wide difference between *opinion* and *fact*. Professor Westwood and others in determining the chronological epoch of certain MSS. which have passed under their review, have very ingeniously reduced fiction to a science. Until however their tests have been tried by a touchstone still to be discovered, I shall continue to regard their findings as of no weight in the scale of *evidence*. In regard to the Lindisfarne Gospels, a very learned correspondent* who has given much attention to this subject, writes as follows :—"I do not see how anyone can go to the British Museum and read that intensely interesting entry at the end of the Lindisfarne Gospels, stating who wrote them, and who ornamented them, without feeling that he is in presence of an art developed in these islands, and due to the ante-Roman Church (anti-Roman too, a little earlier)," &c. Taking

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the translation of the colophon of the Lindisfarne manuscript as given by a recent writer, we read "Thou, O living God, bear in mind Eadfrith, and Aethelred, and Billfrith, and Aeldred, the sinner. These four, with God's help, were employed upon this book, and Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne *first wrote this book* for the sake of God and St. Cuthbert, and all the company of saints in the island; and Aethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, made an outer covering to it, and adorned it as he was able; and Billfrith, the Anchorite, he wrought the metal work of the ornaments on the cover, and decked it with gold and gems; and Aeldred, an unworthy and miserable priest over-glossed the same in English." The colophon or superscription is said to be in Saxon, of which the preceding is an English translation. The late J. M. Kemble has shewn the alleged Anglo-Saxon invasion to be void of historic truth. It follows then that the Teutonic dialect named from these supposed adventurers, and which at a later period was intelligible to the invading Northmen could not be very different from the language of the Scandinavians. In fact the runic writing called Anglo-Saxon shews such identity of resemblance with the runic writing of the Scandinavians that

on the mere ground of difference it would be difficult to found an argument against identity of race, more especially that runic stones with inscriptions in the self-same character are of frequent occurrence in the countries of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

The date of the Lindisfarne MS., we are told, is not dependent on considerations of style, Bishop Eadfrith's ascertained era being from 698-721, practically the beginning of the eighth century. If such a manuscript was ever written by any Bishop of the eighth century, it is plain from the art of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which obviously belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century, that the book now preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum cannot be that MS., and this is all it concerns me to shew. "Books becoming gradually inconvenient for ordinary reading were removed from the altar as unsuitable." We learn on the authority of Keller, as cited by a disciple of the Celtic myth, that "mass-books were re-written at a very early period, and their works on classical and dogmatical subjects came to be little used, and were marked in the catalogues as unserviceable—'legi non potest,'" &c. &c. "When the text became antiquated, successive recensions adapted it to

the changes incidental to all spoken languages," and thus were produced "new versions of old compositions." The Book of Lindisfarne then is evidently a transcript or reproduction of some previously existing MS., as appears from the terms of the colophon. The statement that "Eadfrith" the Bishop "first made this book" would otherwise be unintelligible. Without denying the existence of the persons named in the superscription it is not impossible to conceive that the account it contains, transferred from a former MS., was when originally written nothing more than a monkish tradition, or possibly the whole a fabrication of the scribe who covered the original writing with a colophon, just the kind of forgery which any monk who had an interest in falsifying would be likely to commit. "In the whole period from the sixth to the tenth centuries," says a recent writer, "there were not in all Europe more than three or four men who dared to think for themselves. The few who were able to read confined their studies to works which encouraged and strengthened their superstition, such as the legends of the Saints, and the homilies of the Fathers. From these sources they drew those lying and impudent fables, of which the theology of that time is principally

composed." Such then is my estimate of the Lindisfarne Gospels—heterodox it may appear according to the Celtic conception of orthodoxy, but not the less my firm conviction. The art is manifestly that which was common in England at the beginning of the twelfth century. There is no evidence to show that such art was known in Britain in the eighth century, anything to the contrary being merely inference founded on *assumptions* incapable of proof. Those highly ornate examples are obviously the production of a later age. "If we except a few fragments contained in the Book of Armagh, Ireland, rich as she is in national manuscripts, possesses none containing vernacular matter of a date anterior to the commencement of the twelfth century." So writes the author of *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. "Such vernacular writings as the Book of Hymns" he says, "now present texts which are not older than the twelfth century," which indeed is the impassable limit of historical research. So with regard to all the others.

The late Mr. Ralph Carr-Ellison communicated a notice of the Newton Stone to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in December 1866. He stated that the inscription is Scoto-Saxon, by which he meant a third form of Saxonic

speech differing perceptibly not only from the standard Anglo-Saxon, but also from the North-Anglican or Northumbrian form of the language. Pinkerton, he said, long ago recognized this as a Saxon inscription though he did not attempt to decipher it. Mr. Carr's reading of the Newton inscription will be found in the paper referred to. It was objected by Mr. Skene, who presided on the occasion, that he could not adopt Mr. Carr's conclusion, though he was disposed to believe with him that the inscription was in debased Roman characters and German runes, conceding, it will be seen, only so much as it was impossible to deny. The suggestion that the aborigines of North Britain inscribed their language—whatever this may have been—in Romanesque characters and German runes, may be treated as a bubble and blown into the air. We have a curious example of stubborn adhesion to a dogmatic conclusion in the *Prehistoric Annals*. "It has been so long the fashion" this author says, "to assign every indication of early art or civilization found in Scotland to the Scandinavian invaders that it becomes the Scottish archæologist to receive such conclusions with caution even when advanced by high authority and supported by

evidence," that is, it is incumbent on him *per fas et nefas* to identify the dark periods of his national history with pre-eminent and exceptional civilization,[13] at all hazards the Celtic myth must be upheld. I exclaim with Reid, "If this be philosophy, may my soul dwell with common sense." No one certainly will accuse Sir Daniel Wilson of Scandinavian prepossession when we know his persistent rejection of "evidence" in regard to the runic inscription (once) found within the recess called St. Molio's cave, and his steadfast adherence to an impossible something which he calls Celtic civilization.

A reviewer in *Notes and Queries* of Canon Taylor's disquisition on *the Manx Runes* says he prefers the statements of Dr. Daniel Wilson to those of Canon Taylor. Whatever be the shortcomings of the latter, I can only say that he who trusts to Sir Daniel Wilson's exposition of runic inscriptions leans on a broken reed. His assertions are not merely inaccurate, they are direct inversions of fact.

Few things are more wonderful in the history of the human mind than the vitality of delusions. In wading through the pages of a book which at

13 It is a fact not to be disputed that the English were civilized while we were comparative savages.

the time of its publication made some stir in that limited community known as the archæological world, I find such remarks as the following:— If the principles which I have enunciated are permitted to control the results of the investigation, it follows that certain brooches and bronze mountings though found in Norway among the furnishings of heathen grave mounds are *Celtic*. It is surprising to find men of common intelligence reasoning in a manner which in the case of an ordinary schoolboy would call down physical chastisement. The principles enunciated, according to the peculiar method of exposition employed by persons of the Prehistoric school, are practically that an expounder of the Celtic myth, may invent his own facts or draw conclusions from premises resting on no other foundation than the phantasmagoria of his own grotesque misconceptions. His followers undismayed by the incoherence of his explanations in like manner reach the like conclusions. Mr. Lorange "is able" to write in his catalogue of the Bergen Museum that a brooch found at Vambheim with the usual accompaniments of Viking burial "is undoubtedly of Scotch or Irish origin," and so Professor Rygh in regard to a brooch dug up at North Trondheim in Norway,

with a pair of bowl-shaped brooches of the Scandinavian Viking time "has no difficulty" in pronouncing it to be *Celtic*, while a mounting of bronze found in a Norwegian grave mound, heaped over a Viking ship "declares itself" of Celtic origin. As a set-off against these vagaries Mr. Baring-Gould, who is quite as capable of forming an accurate judgment on the subject of Scandinavian art as either Mr. Lorange or Professor Rygh, has "no difficulty" in reaching an opposite conclusion. "Thank you very much," he writes, "for your most interesting paper on the Celtic myth. *I quite believe with you, that the so-called Celtic ornamentation on stones, brooches, &c., is Scandinavian.*"

An expounder of Celtic art descanting on the stone at Logie in the Garioch falls into the grotesque misconception of confounding an emblematical figure with what he supposes to be an *Ogham inscription*. The writing, he says, "has no apparent beginning or end, and is therefore illegible." The late Sir Samuel Fergusson, in a Rhind lecture, slurred the matter over with a passing allusion without condescending upon an explanation of any kind. Mr. W. F. Skene transliterates some writing on the fragment of a sculpture found at Aboyne into the incompre-

hensible jargon of "Maggoitalluorrh—Neahhtlarobbaitceanneff," which in turn I translate by the equally descriptive formula of *Abracadabra*, and at the same time take leave to suggest that as regards the supposed inscription on the Logie pillar we shall look in vain for anything more intelligible. It seems not to have suggested itself to those elucidators of Celtic mystery that this imaginary writing with no beginning and no end veils nothing more recondite than a modified form of an Icelandic magical sign, the first of the series exemplified by Mr. Baring-Gould in his interesting account of *Iceland; its Scenes and its Sagas.*

Professor Boyd Dawkins says the *Spiral* is "justly termed Celtic." I have neither fitness nor inclination to track this ornament through the perplexities of the so-named "Bronze" and "Prehistoric Iron Ages," certain supposed stages or periods of unwritten history, which do not help us even approximately to any chronological conclusion. The arbitrary deductions of those who profess to explain what is Celtic and what is Teutonic in any given work of art are obviously only so much figment. In a book called the *Costume of the Ancients*, published by Thomas Hope in

1809, the illustrations of which were collected from sources undoubtedly genuine, the spiral appears on Phrygian shields and helmets, on a Theban bow-case, on the attire of a Greek warrior from an intaglio, on the armour of another from a fictile vase, on a Greek chariot, on the persons of two Greek combatants, on the armour of a Greek warrior from a bronze in the Florentine Gallery, on a Greek candelabrum and chair, and on Roman armour. Were the Celts the originals of men, and was their art antecedent to that of the Phrygians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans? Has any fact in history been adduced to indicate their origin, or, apart from the vagaries of the antiquary, to tell of what their art consisted? The learned among the moderns who discourse on this subject have allowed their imagination to usurp the place of reason, and conjecture that of fact.

A word in regard to the use of the term *Celt*, commonly employed to designate a chisel-shaped implement.[33] This, as I think, is in every way objectionable, and looks so much like intention to convey a wrong impression, that, in my

33 "Stone Celts," explained by "Celtis, a chisel"—see Catalogue of Antiquities, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edin. 1876, p. 11.

opinion the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland would consult its dignity by abolishing it altogether. If its executive be wedded to the use of Latin terms, why not a *scalp* from the Latin *Scalprum* with the like significance, which would not be liable to misconception? There can be no proper reason why the English word "chisel-shaped" should not be substituted. *Celtis*, in one sense, means a chisel, and is so used in the Vulgate (*vel celte sculpantur*, Job. 19, 24), but a feminine noun identical in orthography, means an African tree. The term in the mouths of the unlettered multitude, which is always more influenced by sound than derivation, is generally understood to denote an instrument used by a people called *Celts*. When employed to describe a chisel-shaped instrument, the use of the word *Celt* is ambiguous, and tends to obscure rather than to explain. Nomenclature of this kind should be axiomatical. An axiom, as most people know, is a maxim or proposition, which, being self-evident, cannot be made plainer by demonstration. A learned body like the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland ought to avoid being regarded as partisan, or as exclusively identified with the debateable dogma of Celtic civilization.

CELTICISM A MYTH.

The title "Celticism a myth," is intended to express my conviction that the assumption of Celtic civilisation and Celtic art is utterly without foundation. The doctrine that a high state of culture existed among the aboriginal inhabitants of these islands has been made to pass current with the multitude through the ingenuity of writers committed to a particular hypothesis, whose arbitrary conclusions, in contempt of the rules of evidence, have been implicitly accepted as immutable truth. I can only suppose that the reason why Celtic expositors have so long enjoyed immunity for their favourite idol is, that not being a subject of vital importance,[1] the interest

1 Some years ago, meeting with a well-known learned Professor—an enthusiast in Celtic literature—at the house of George Mac Donald, I discussed with him the ethnological question of the Picts, who, he contended, were a Celtic race. I afterwards submitted for his opinion the print of a paper on this subject, contributed to *Notes and Queries*. His deliverance, as it appeared to me, was neither very profound nor particularly relevant, and concluded with the remark that even if the Picts were a Gothic people, it would not interfere with his eternal salvation. It is, perhaps unnecessary to add that I did not perceive the connection between the eternal salvation of the learned Professor and the Gothic origin of the Picts.

in it is limited to very few persons, and that in this utilitarian age the more capable, who apply themselves to questions of greater practical interest, will not be induced to give the matter their serious consideration.[1] Besides, a degree of obloquy is attached to the placing of one's self in antagonism to those who are conventionally regarded as the oracles of archæological faith, and whose dictum it is an offence to question. Not being imbued, however, with a superstitious reverence for mere names, I venture, in the interests of truth, to direct attention to this subject, in the hope that the matter may be taken up by some one with more time and better appliances at his disposal than I can command.

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1 Like Sir Edward Coke, in the matters of science and literature, the bulk of men of intellectual prowess have a sublime contempt for everything but pence, politics, and personal grandeur. Coke's opinion, as summarized by the *Times* reviewer, was that "Shakspeare and Ben Jonson were *vagrants* deserving of the stocks; poetry was foolishness; law, politics, and money-making the sole occupations worthy of a masculine and vigorous mind." Just such an opinion as one would expect from a "stony-hearted and stony-minded" money-seeker who "dreamt of nothing but fame, and of that only for the sterling recompense it brings." Coke, though a great lawyer, was not a great man, and, abating something for the times in which he lived, was in many respects a detestable character.

It is satisfactory to know that the cobwebs of Celticism which surrounded the Scottish Brochs, and the so-called Celtic structure of Maeshowe, in Orkney — two strongholds of the Celtic theorists, have at last been completely brushed away by the masterly hand of the author of *Rude Stone Monuments*,[2] who has proved to demonstration, so far as the thing is capable of proof, that these were the work of the Northmen. "If," this writer concludes, "it can be shown that the Celts in this land reached a degree of civilisation between the years 500 and 1000 sufficient to render it probable that they were the builders of the Brochs, it has not been done, and till it is it seems more probable that the men who could build ships and organise fleets which were the terror of not only the North of Scotland, but of England and Ireland, and even of France, were a superior race, and in so far at least as constructive necessities were concerned, more likely to be the builders of the Brochs. Even, however, if a better case can be made out for the civilisation of the Celts in Brochland than I am willing to admit, it must I think

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2 *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, by James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.

be conceded that the Norwegians were their superiors, not only for the reason just stated, but because they conquered and occupied their country, and finally extirpated or expelled the Celts from these islands, and the parts of the Continent where they first and most frequently settled. We know their position and prowess; we wait for an account of that of the races they conquered and annihilated." This is the language of common sense, and it appeals to the judgment of every man of rational intelligence. Certainly as regards the construction of the Brochs it consists with probability that a people of whom Dr. Johnson observes that they possessed the arts of life[2] would display all the engineering skill necessary to the defence of their new conquests. Worsaae says the Irish chronicles attest that in the art of fortification the Norwegians were far superior to the Irish (p. 323). There seems little reason to doubt that the so-called "British Forts" found in different parts

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2 "The Danes came hither in ships, and could not be ignorant of the arts of life."—*Johnson's Letters.* "Piets' Burghs, the name of those ancient buildings still existing, which were erected by the Norwegians during the Saxon periods in the Western Isles, generally placed within sight of the sea."—*Camden, cited by Nuttall (Classical and Archæological Dictionary, Lond.*, 1840.)

of Wales are also the work of the Northmen. The Danes, Worsaae tells us, made themselves masters of that country. Dr. Gerrard, at Aberdeen, told Boswell, that when in Wales, he was shown a valley inhabited by Danes, who still retained their own language, and were quite a distinct people.[3] "Nothing has occurred since I wrote that brochure," Dr. Fergusson says, "that in the smallest degree shakes my confidence in the conclusion I then arrived at. I feel perfectly certain that the brochs were not built by the wretched Celtic inhabitants of the isles, where they are principally found, but by the invading Northmen; but I do not see how, or where, I could restate the argument with any chance of getting a hearing. Mr. Anderson gives me no opening. He simply ignores my arguments, and treats the question as settled beyond dispute."[4] This is precisely the way in which expounders of the Celtic myth deal with all argument that affects

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3 Wales is among the territories named by Snorro Sturlessen, which were invaded by the sea rover Olaf, who ascended the throne of Norway in 995.

4 Letter of the late James Fergusson, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., to the author of this treatise, June 10th, 1884. A possible explanation may be that the blow dealt by Fergusson being fatal, the advocates of the Celtic theory in some sort resemble the quadruped called a *Giraffe*, which, it is said, does not utter a sound even in the agonies of death.

the stability of their hypothesis. Their conclusions, like the decrees of Heaven, are not subject to controversy. Every adverse fact only comes as a confirmation of the theory by which their minds are so completely absorbed. In matters of archæology, however, no man can be regarded as an *authority* for any statement which he cannot prove. The partisans of any doctrine must be ready to defend their position by every argument befitting the attack. If they do not, they give the best reason to suppose that the ground which they occupy is untenable. It has been objected that the Norwegians were a wood-building people. They could hardly build with wood in a country where wood was not to be found. The whole history of the Northmen goes to show that, like their progeny the modern Scotch, they adapted themselves to circumstances and used the materials within their reach. That analogous structures are not found in Norway is entirely wide of the question. The British colonists of America erected small fortresses formed of large logs of wood to defend themselves from the attacks of the aborigines. Would it be an argument in disproof of their English origin that similar structures are not found in the

mother country? Norway was the country of the Norwegians and they would hardly want forts to defend themselves from the Celts of Great Britain, who had neither ships nor appliances of any kind by which they could assail an enemy. It requires something more than wild beast skins, and flint arrow heads, and fleetness of foot to make a race formidable as an attacking force. Dr. Joseph Anderson, it is true, furnishes the Celts with a *sword* which he finds on the Govan Sarcophagus, a work of the twelfth century, and on a Roman legionary tablet, in the Antiquaries' Museum.[5] Lord Neaves stated in an address to the antiquaries in 1859, that the great object of archæological research is to be able from a few scattered and imperfect hints

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5 "The Romans were in Britain about five hundred years. Before they left it there were forty-six military stations, and twenty-eight cities of consequence, from Inverness and Perth, to that London, which Tacitus describes as a port famous for its number of merchants and extent of trade (Tacit. An. xiv. 33). The military force required for the defence of the colony amounted in general to 20,000 foot and 1,700 horse, and these were not birds of passage, like the troops in our colonies. The sixth legion remained at York as its head quarters for nearly three hundred years" (Scotland in the Middle Ages, p. 42). In view of these facts, how strange to reflect on the concluding remarks of Ferguson[3] in his *Northmen in Cumberland*, &c. "The mighty barrier," he says, "which the Romans erected from sea to sea—the

3 Robert Ferguson.

to call up the entire image of the forgotten past. I remember he founded an argument from analogy with osteology remarking that from a fossil toe or tooth the whole anatomy might be given of creatures that had trod the earth many thousand years ago. Dr. Anderson has been happy in finding a fossil tooth, which takes the form of a Celtic sword. The popular notion of a Celtic sword is the *Claymore*. The form of that represented on the sarcophagus is scarcely distinguishable from the confessedly Norse weapon, and it is hardly to be supposed that the sculptor of this mortuary remain was the armourer of a Viking chief. Worsaae in his *Account of the Danes*, &c. (pp. 45, 52, 326), gives five examples of the Viking-sword, each differing from the other in the form of the pommel

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chain of military posts, all parts of a complete and beautiful system, by which they kept this wild district in check, are still distinctly to be traced. Their altars, their inscriptions, their ornaments, their arms, would furnish a museum—their coins are thickly sown throughout the soil, and the faces of their emperors are better known to us than those of our own kings. But take away these material vestiges, and history alone would tell us that a great people had been here. No name of Roman origin marks our soil—no stamp of Roman thought is on our race—no breath of the Southern tongue softens the tough Teutonic of our speech*. Whatever impress they may have made was made upon a race, which seems, like them, to have been clean swept away."

* This is substantially, though perhaps, not literally true.

and guard, but all possessing the distinctive character of the Danish weapon. It may even be doubted if an example which he calls Saxon (p. 45), be not only another variety of the Viking-sword. This has the broad two-edged blade and slender hilt peculiar to the Scandinavian weapon. One thing is certain, that a sword, which Worsaae (p. 328) calls "genuine Irish," that is I suppose, *Celtic*, bears no resemblance whatever to that on the Govan Sarcophagus. The fallen figure on the Roman tablet may be one of the Belgæ, and Cæsar says the Belgæ were Germans.[6] Dr. Anderson's theory is like Don Quixote's helmet, excellent in every particular till tried by the "sword."

If every antiquary were of the same mental

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6 I have since made a minute examination of the actual tablet in the Museum, a representation of which forms the frontispiece illustration to the Society's *Catalogue of Antiquities*, printed in 1876. The panel to the right, we are told, "has a sculptured representation of a mounted Roman soldier galloping over a group of two slain, and two living Caledonians naked, but armed with spear, sword, dagger," &c. If the figures be correctly described as Caledonians, the Viking character of the hilt of the sword which is falling from the hand of the headless figure, confirms my contention that the Picts were Scandinavians. It is worthy of remark that the sword held in the hand of the mounted figure on the St. Andrew's slab is as Scandinavian in the form of the hilt as can well be imagined. It is a singular fact that the Celtic expositor usually supplies the materials by which his own theory may be overturned.

calibre as Professor Owen, we might be comparatively safe in his hands, though even then his conclusions might occasionally be open to doubt. The laws which regulate the animal economy are fixed and certain, those of archæological science—if science it can be called—varying according to the fancies of the individual investigator.

Of the people who inhabited what has been called "Celtic Scotland," we know nothing, save as "naked barbarians."* Their condition is finely described in a pamphlet by Mr. French, of Bolton, the text of which is based on a misshapen representation of the Forteviot sculpture formerly at Freeland House.[7] This gentleman propounded the notion that the ancient Britons, being without vessels of any kind to hold water, grouped themselves by the margins of running streams, to which they were limited by the

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* "The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians."—*Decline and Fall, Vol. I p.* 7.

7 This sorry specimen of the copyist's art forms the frontispiece illustration to the first of the Spalding Club volumes on the sculptured Stones of Scotland. Many of the stones represented in that work are exceedingly inaccurate.

necessities of their condition. By-and-by they made themselves vessels of rushes, which saved the awkwardness of lapping the water with their hands. This expedient, however, afforded only temporary relief; for the water, and all save the larger animalcules, escaped through the crevices. In a lucky moment, one more knowing than the rest, conceived the idea of lining the inside of the vessels with wrought clay, by which they were enabled to penetrate to the interior. Whether this archaic discoverer protected his invention by letters patent does not appear.

It is surprising to find this peculiar dogma asserting itself even in men of acknowledged scholarship and ability. Mr. W. F. Skene, LL.D., in his preface to Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, is clearly unable to curb his strong Celtic predilections. "What Bower does in his account of these coronations," Mr. Skene says, "is to throw the more ancient and Celtic element into the background," &c.; the fact being that there is not a tittle of evidence to show that such an element ever existed. The root or principle of civilisation and culture certainly never grew out of the Celtic element. Walter Bower, as is well known, was the continuator of Fordun's

narrative.[8] Goodall, who in 1774 issued proposals for printing the *Scoto-Chronicon*, with Bower's continuation, says of the latter that he—"Inserted a great number of historical passages very proper to be recorded and known, which though omitted by Fordun, are of equal authority with his own work, for Bower had diligently consulted both records and other authentic monuments."

All this Mr. Skene relates in his preface—still, however, regarding it as "unfortunate" that the statements of Bower, rather than those of Fordun, should have been adopted as the basis of Scottish history. Mr. Skene considers it essential that Fordun's narrative should be distinguished from the "interpolations of his continuators, and reproduced freed from the manipulation it has undergone at their hands;" that is: that as the statements of Bower, and possibly those contained in certain supposed interpolations which may not be Bower's, do not fit with his ideas of Celticism, they must henceforward be discarded from the materials of history. If the ethnological views of a section

8 John of Fordun lived in the reigns of Robert II. and III., and wrote about 1380. Bower was Abbot of Inchcolm from 1418 to the time of his decease. He died in 1449, shortly before which he prepared his continuation of *Fordun's Chronicles*.

of archæologists will not fit the record, the record must be altered to fit their hypothesis, and this, probably, furnishes a key to the whole undertaking. We find Mr. Cosmo Innes in like manner tampering with the text of Bede.[2] How the circumstance that Bower lived a generation later than the originator of the narrative, whose work, with equal advantages of scholarship and access to the then existing records of events he carried forward to its completion, should render his testimony unworthy of credit, I fail to perceive.[9]

It is evident that Wallace, the learned author of *The Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages*, had not quite so exalted an opinion of the *Scoto-Chronicon*, with or without the interpolations as Dr. W. F. Skene.* Speaking of Hector Boece, he describes him "an historian whose reputation is not near equal to his merit, *not a bit more credulous or more fabulous*," he

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2 Not a few of the wise saws of Cosmo Innes are gathered from his namesake, Father Innes, and from Verstegan.

9 See my communication under the signature "W. B., Glasgow." *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 3, 1872. Vol. XI. pp. 97, 98.

* Wallace's opinion of Fordun is quite borne out by Father Innes in his *Critical Essay*. Those who on the faith of Dr. Skene, are disposed to believe in the immaculateness of Fordun would do well to read this.

says, "and far abler as well as more elegant than Fordun."[10]

Lord Neaves once suggested that the structure of the Scottish language might be referred to the decision of some "dispassionate Celtic scholar." I fear, however, there is no such thing in nature as a dispassionate Celtic scholar.[11] Preconception and prejudice united to a total disregard of the rules of evidence, are the distinctive characteristics of the expounders of Celticism. In point of fact, the entire system is the outcome of national vanity, evolved out of the inner consciousness of a few, whose conclusions have been gulped down implicitly by a large number of persons, who are either unable or unwilling to examine the matter for themselves. I believe, with a writer in *Notes and Queries*,

10 Hector Boece, described by Lord Hailes as a physician of practice and reputation, was Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and a native of Dundee. His *Scotorum Historia* written during the reign of James V., was first published in 1526.

11 I know of one exception. This is Mr. James Rankin, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S., Examiner in Navigation, Local Marine Board, London. This gentleman expresses himself as follows.—"I am a native born Highlander of Jura, Argylshire, and understand the Gaelic language; and whatever may be alleged to the contrary, I am firmly convinced that a very large Norse element pervades, both the speech and the people of the Highlands of Scotland. As to the rest, if there be any remains of the aboriginal language spoken by the first inhabitants, it must indeed be infinitesimally small."—*Notes and Queries*, 4th, s. viii. (July 8, 1871, p. 31.)

that no man of Celtic race "ever attained real greatness in literature, science, art, political or military life," only, I very much doubt, if such a thing as "pure Celtic blood" anywhere exists. We find even Lord Brougham, great man that he was, attributing his success in life to the (supposed) Celtic blood inherited from his mother, just as the eminent Chief Justice Hale entertained the belief of witchcraft; which shows that even men of genius are not always superior to the prevailing delusion.[12] If Henry Brougham had had nothing better than Celtic blood in his veins he would never have been Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Dean Stanley, too, accepting the Celticism of the Scottish Gael as a thing fixed and settled, in a brief notice of Norman Macleod, says of this great Scotchman, "In no public man of our generation has the Celtic element played a more conspicuous, in none, so beneficent a part," &c. If there be one fact better authenticated than another it is the Norwegian descent of the clan Macleod. "Even to the present day," says M. Worsaae, "many Highland clans assert that they are descended

12 "There are epidemics of opinion as well as of disease, and they prevail at least as much among the well-educated as among the uneducated classes of society."—*Sir Benjamin Brodie.*

from the Danes or Norwegians.* This much is at all events certain, that several clans have Scandinavian blood in their veins, as appears clearly enough from the names of Clan-Ranald (from Reginal or Ragnvald) and Clan-Dugal (from Dubhgall, 'the dark strangers,' the usual name of the Danes); both which clans, it is expressly stated, are descended from Somerled. *To these may be added the clan of Macleod in Skye, whose chiefs still commonly bear the pure Norwegian names of 'Torquil' and 'Tormod.'* "[13] Pinkerton tells us, "The Norwegians were lords

* Dr. Macculloch says, "It is not to be borne that the blood of the Macdonalds and Macleods and Macdougalls should thus forget itself, and enlist under the banner which it trampled under foot. The mark of Odin is stamped on the forehead of the robust Dugal, who drives at the *cas-chróm* or pulls at the oar; it is the spirit of Odin's race which still draws the claymore on its enemies, it is Scythian hospitality which still throws its door open to the stranger, and will the Highlander belie it all?" Again, "At what period the practice of piracy ceased in the maritime Highlands seems unknown. If it was not once as important a trade as cattle stealing, they have much belied their *Norwegian ancestors*."

13 At a conversazione held at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in November, 1851, the "Dunvegan Drinking Cup" which belonged to Macleod of Macleod, was exhibited by Dr. Daniel Wilson, who took occasion to remark that, "Like most other native relics," it had "been assigned to a Scandinavian origin." It is vain to hope that anything can ever wean Dr. Wilson from his cherished delusion. With him native art is like the rod-serpent of Aaron in relation to the serpents of the magicians, it swallows up every other kind of art, leaving him a prey to one solitary hallucination.

of the Highlands and Isles from the ninth century, and remain still in their progeny." Again, "The Highlanders were not indeed even subject to the Scottish Crown from the ninth to the sixteenth century, but to the Norwegian lords."[14] We have also the authority of Lord Ellesmere, for believing that "the connection of Scandinavia with Caledonia is much older than the conquest of England by the Saxons,"* that

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14 "The Scandinavian Colonists in the Lowlands were of Norwegian—Danish descent, the Highlands, and islands farthest towards the north and west, were conquered, and in part peopled by Norwegians only. This happened about the same time as the Danish conquests and settlements in England. The Norwegians founded kingdoms on the northern and western coast of Scotland, which existed for centuries after the destruction of the Danish power in England. They introduced their own manners, customs, and laws, and gave Norwegian names to the places colonised by them." "No small portion of the present population of Scotland, both in the Lowlands and on the remotest coasts and isles of the Highlands, is undoubtedly descended from the Northmen, and particularly from the Norwegians." "To judge from the present popular language, we might be easily tempted to believe that a far greater number of Northmen had settled in the Scottish Lowlands than in the middle and northern districts of England"—*Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by J. J. A. Worsaae, pp.* 196, 197, 198, 202.

* "Before that event took place, the Scandinavians had possessed themselves of a considerable part of the Lowlands of Scotland, where they probably were most generally known by the name of Picts." Again, "The descents of the Northmen in Scotland, before they got a firm footing there, were chiefly made from the Orkneys, which from time immemorial seem to have been inhabited by people of Scandinavian origin."—*Guide to Northern Archæology, Introd. p.* 6.

is, the date of the alleged conquest. It would be difficult to find a name more palpably Norse than that of Norman Macleod.[15]

Mr. John Hill Burton says, "it is a circumstance worthy of notice, that when the great

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15 Among the garbage of adverse criticism, a foolish diatribe appeared in a Glasgow newspaper, suggesting on the part of the writer a total ignorance of the whole subject. "The Macleods of Skye," he says, "are declared to be of Danish origin—indeed it would be difficult, we are told, to find a name more palpably Norse than that of Norman Macleod," and this, in the courtly language of the reviewer, "is not put down as a contribution to the domain of farce," &c. Here, at least, is the testimony of Dr. Donald Macleod, which will probably reach as far as the rhodomontade of a random writer in a local newspaper; "What you say as to the origin of our Clan, and the Norse character of my brother Norman's name, has been familiar to me since my childhood. My father, Norman Macleod (senior), who was a well known Celtic scholar, and avowedly the best modern writer of Gaelic prose—always recognised the Scandinavian origin of the Macleods. Nevertheless, Stanley was, I think, right about my brother—for he had from other sources a very strong dash of Celtic blood," (Letter of the Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D., dated August 8th, 1884.) The latter part of Dr. Macleod's statement begs the question in dispute. My own opinion is that the Celtic element which he ascribes to his brother Norman did not exist. Mr. W. F. Skene, D.C.L., discourses learnedly on what he calls "Celtic Scotland," though so far as there is any *evidence*, he might as well tell us of "Egyptian Scotland," or "Etruscan Scotland," or "Phoenician Scotland." The epithet, *Celtic*, applied to North Britain at any stage in the history of its civilisation is unreservedly an element of fiction. If we adopt the explanation of the Rev. G. F. Browne, that "Celt and Celtic" are merely "convenient terms for describing what we don't quite know how else to describe," we have at least a candid confession of ignorance, but this is obviously not the sense in which these terms are employed by the Scotch "Historiographer Royal," who maintains his dogma in the most absolute and restricted form.

families at the head of the Highland tribes have been traced far back, they have generally been found to be of Teutonic race. The chiefs of the Macdonalds, Macleods, and Mackintoshes, were of Norwegian blood. Those of the Frasers, Gordons, Campbells, Cumins, and many others were Norman."

The Norman element I am disposed to doubt. The surnames Gordon, Gurdon, Grant, Graunt, Coman, Cumin, Camell, Ross, Roose, Rosse, Lovett, and Buttar (the last a name of frequent occurrence among the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders—Norse Butar) are found among the early surnames of the Norfolk coast—beyond dispute a Danish settlement—side by side with such obviously Scandinavian names as Aaron, (Arin) Asker, (Askr) Ayri, (Ari) Bullock, (Böllok) Beacon, (Bekan) Berney, (Biarni) Burn, (Biörn) Buck, (Bukk-r) Bottle, (Beitill) Baird, (Bardi) Kaupman, Copeman, (Kaupmann) Cok, (Kok-r) Crom, (Krum-r) Carrick, Kerrich, (Koeruk) Clark, (Kloerk) Cory, (Kori) Dodde, (Dodi) Engall, (Angel) Fisher, (Fiskr) Gunn, (Gunn-r) Goodwin, (Godvin) Geary, (Geirie) Grims, (Grim-r) Gamel, (Gamal) Goddard, (Goddar) Horn, Hornsby, (Horn) Herring, (Haering-r) Hauke, (Hauk-r) Haggard, (Hogard-r)

Hacon, (Hakon) Howard, (Havaard) Kettle, (Ketil) Kempe, (Kampi) Knott, (Cnut) Loudin, Loddon, (Lodinn) Loke, (Loki) Life (Leif) Lambe, (Lambi) Mann, (Mani) Mychell, (Mikell) Moll, (Miöl) Norman, (Nordman), Osburn, (Asbiorn) Raven, (Rafn) Reynoldson, (Ragnvald) Swan (Svan-r) Silver (Sölvar) Story (Sturi) Todd (Todi) Thain, (Thegn) &c. These surnames, which are followed each by its Scandinavian equivalent placed within parentheses, I collected about sixteen years ago from the older tombstones of Great Yarmouth, and other graveyards on the coast of Norfolk.[16]

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16 On the subject of surnames, it may be noted that the author of an interesting biography of the Haigs of Bemersyde, assuming, on insufficient grounds as I think, the name to be of Norman origin, derives it from a cliff in Normandy which projects into the English Channel. There are places nearer home equally suggestive. Why not the promontory called "St. Agnes" (Hageness) in Scilly? The proper name of this headland, as it appears in the *Rotuli Curæ Regis*, temp. Richard I., and throughout a line of later records is simply "Hageness" and "Hagnesse." In the early part of the 16th century it was called "Angnes," and by the saintly accretion has since changed to its present form of "St. Agnes." The particle *de* prefixed to the patronymic of the Bemersyde Haigs in the older form of Hague, being the fashion of a period is not necessarily a test of Norman descent. *Haigh* is found as a Yorkshire surname, and as a place-name, in the North Riding, in the forms of *Hagg* and *Hag*-worth, in the East Riding of *Hag*-thorpe, and in the West, of *Hague*, Hague-hall, and *Haig*. Sir Wm. Macdonald, English Resident at the Hague, in 1653, writes that name *Haig*, making the two forms interchangeable. It occurs to me that the name in all its varieties is Scandinavian.

It is worthy of note that within the Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldshay, was found an ox bone, incised with the symbols so frequently met with on the Scotch sculptured stones, and with it three oblong dice of bone, such as are found in Norwegian grave mounds of the Viking period. In this structure, Dr. Trail discovered a thin slab of clay slate stone, marked with an incised cross, and the representation of a fish, the same as is found on the sculptured monuments of the Scotch Mainland. This stone has an inscription, which consists of a species of obsolete Runic characters, not now decipherable but which were obviously in use among the early Northmen. When I say not decipherable, I mean simply, that in most cases the meaning cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. The language has been called "mixed Scandinavian and Celtic," an impossible combination, which certainly never existed in fact. These inscriptions, to which has been given the name *Ogham*, are attributed to the aboriginal inhabitants of the British Islands, of whom, on better authority, we learn that they were "without letters or monuments to mark their history or changing limits."* A stone containing an inscrip-

* "The Scandinavian settlers in Northumbria, Cumbria, and the

tion, similar in character, was found in a moss

Isle of Man having left behind them so many runic records of their presence, it may seem strange that not a single runic stone should have been discovered in the Scandinavian colony of Pembroke, or even in Ireland, where Scandinavian chieftains bore sway for many years in the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. The runic treasures of Wales and Ireland are limited to one small silver coin, struck in Dublin, which bears a runic legend. But the fact of this remarkable absence of runic monuments in certain regions where they might have been looked for must be taken in conjunction with another circumstance equally remarkable, that it is exactly in these regions where the expected runic stones are wanting, that Ogham stones abound. . . . . The geographical distribution of the Ogham inscriptions raises a strong presumption in favour of the Scandinavian origin of the Ogham writing. The Ogham districts of Wales and Ireland were, without exception, regions of Scandinavian occupancy. The existence of a very early Scandinavian settlement in Pembrokeshire is indicated by a dense cluster of local names of the Norse type, which surrounds and radiates from the fiords of Milford and Haverford. The Ogham district in Wales is nearly conterminous with the limits of this Scandinavian colony as determined by the local names. Seventeen out of the twenty Welsh Ogham inscriptions are in the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan, nine out of the seventeen being in Pembrokeshire itself. . . . . Of the extant Ogham inscriptions, more than five-sixths are in Ireland, and these, with four or five exceptions, are found along that part of the Irish coast which lies opposite to the Scandinavian colony in Pembroke. . . . . No less than 148 out of the 155 Irish Oghams are found in the four counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, and Kerry; or, roughly speaking, they fringe the line of coast which stretches between the two Scandinavian kingdoms of Waterford and Limerick. It may be safely affirmed that where the Northmen never came Ogham inscriptions are never found."—*Greeks and Goths, by Isaac Taylor, LL.D.* With equal truth might it be affirmed that where the Northmen never settled there are no remains of what is called Celtic speech. The Northmen formed colonies in Wales, in Cornwall, in Brittany, in Ireland, in the highlands and islands of Scotland, and in the Isle of Man, and there only do we find those dialects of obsolete Gothic speech which philologers of the Celtic type include under the Celtic myth.

at Lunnasting, in Shetland,[17] and presented to the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, by my namesake, the Rev. J. C. Roger. The question to be solved is, how came these remains to be deposited in a Norwegian structure? The explanation, as I think, is not far to seek, and this is, that the structure itself and all which it contained are purely Scandinavian. Worsaae, speaking of these circular stone towers, which by many, he says, are called "Danish burghs," mentions that on the little island of Mousa (Mösey), is "another Celtic [?] tower, which tradition *decidedly states to have been occupied by Norwegians*," and although tradition has been compared to a snow ball, which accumulates as it rolls downward, there is some truth in the remark that there is never fire without smoke, and generally some foundation for every story that we hear.

We are told a good deal about the difference between Celtic and Scandinavian art, though no one has ever condescended upon a tittle of *evidence* to show that the Celts possessed the

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17 Lunasting (Lunziesting) is one of the lesser *Things* named by Mr. Worsaae, which was under the jurisdiction of the chief *Thing* in Tingwall, plainly connecting this stone with the Scandinavian occupation.

slightest knowledge of art of any kind.[18] Thomson, the erudite private secretary to the Marquess of Hastings in India, in *Observations* prefixed to his Lexicon, printed at Edinburgh in 1826, has noted the fact that, "In the time of Julius Cæsar no vestiges of Celtic erudition or monuments of ancient architecture appear to have existed, either in Gaul or in Britain," that "the rude fabrics of huge stones are generally Gothic."[19] "Stonehenge," he says, "constructed exactly on the same style, but of greater dimensions, evidently signifies the stone circle for popular conventions, called in Sweden 'allgemenneligit thing oc ring,' the general council and ring for the people. Our court of hustings," he tells us, "is the Gothic hus thing, the aulic forum; and the Yorkshire riding, rett

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18 "Art," we are told, "is as universal as language." As a general proposition noses are as universal as faces, though in what consists the relevancy of such remarks in determining the character of art, arbitrarily called *Celtic*, I hardly know. "Most men have coats, and most men have waistcoats," from which it is plain that some have neither coats nor waistcoats.

19 "There is not one single passage in any classical author which can be construed as alluding directly or indirectly to the megalithic remains on these isles or on the continent"—*Rude Stone Monuments*, *p.* 8.

or ried thing, a justiciary meeting."[20] The late Dr. Joseph Robertson stated at a meeting of the British Association in 1859, that, "We have Irish MSS. of the seventh century, and from that time downwards. We have also silver cases enclosing them, and other examples of early Celtic art, all showing a comparatively high degree of excellence," &c. This was in reply to Colonel Jonathan Forbes who maintained the incapacity of the Celts to accomplish any work of art. By what process have the dates and Celticism of the Irish MSS. been ascertained, and who has demonstrated the origin of so-called

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20 Fergusson notices the fact cited by Mr. John Stuart, that "'on the 2nd of May, 1349, William Bishop, of Aberdeen, held a Court at the Standing stones of Rayne, at which the King's Justiciar was present.' This circle being excavated was found to contain in its centre a pit in which were incinerated bones, fragments of small urns, and "all the usual accompaniments of a sepulchral deposit"—"clearly proving," Fergusson says, "not only the sepulchral nature of the circles, but the use that was subsequently made of them. It is not, however, quite clear that the Courts held there by the 'King's Justiciar' were an after use, and not one that existed *ab initio*, and this raises a question to which I suspect we shall never receive a satisfactory answer, were the 'incinerated bones' found inside the circle, the evidences of a common burying place, the ashes of distinguished persons, or the remains of criminals who had died by sentence of the 'Justiciar.'" Fergusson says with reference to the megalithic circle called the Ring of Brogar; "If it is not, as before said, a ring in which those who fell in battle were buried, I know not what it is. The Chiefs in this case would be buried in the conoid barrow close round, the Jarl in the neighbouring howe."

"early Celtic art"? We are told the day has gone past for looking at the outsides of things. The subject, however, as it appears to me, is altogether so much like the Irishman's garment that it is difficult to say which is the inside and which the out. To know where to begin is the perplexity that besets the enquirer who tries to catch up a clue in this tangled skein.

In April, 1880, I communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, through Mr. Joseph Anderson, the drawing of a bronze plate made by my late father, Mr. Charles Roger, in 1796. It represents a work of art dug up on the farm of Laws, in the parish of Monifieth. An account of this, accompanied with a woodcut representation, is printed in the "Proceedings" of the Society, Vol. II. new series, page 268. The drawing exhibits both sides of a crescent-shaped plate 4½ inches in length. One side contains a symbol of the same peculiar kind as that engraved on the leaf-shaped silver plates found at Norrie's Law.[21] It is accompanied with an animal's head bearing a strong resemblance to

[21] The Norrie's Law find included *two* silver plates graven with the symbol which consists of the spectacle and deflected ornament—double discs if anyone prefers it—two circles united by two or more lines, intersected by a figure resembling the letter Z.

that on the Norrie's Law plates, and to other representations of a similar kind found on the sculptured monuments of Scotland. The reverse side shows a crescent[22] filled with a pattern formed by diagonal lines intersecting each other at right angles, and containing in the centre of each square or lozenge within a plain border, a circular point or *stigmata*, similar in character to that met with on a seal of Holyrood Abbey, appended to a charter of the year 1141. Dr. Wilson supposes the figure on this seal to be a representation of the "original wooden church, reared by the brethren of the Holyrood Abbey, on their first clearance in the forest of Drumselch." It seems to me with greater probability to represent a structure of the twelfth century, clumsily executed and drawn in bad perspective. This seal is described by Mr. H. Laing in his first volume of "Ancient Scottish Seals." He considers the figure it contains to represent a building of the period indicated by the charter to which the seal is pendant. The reverse side of the bronze

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22 Planche says that a bas-relief found at Autun (a name uncommonly Norse in construction) represents two Druids [?] in long tunics, one bearing a sceptre, the other a crescent, one of the sacred symbols. The ornaments which he calls "Druidical" very closely resemble the Scandinavian ornaments called "Celtic" found in Scotland.

plate is crossed by an expanded V-shaped symbol with floriated ends. The other markings on it are a double reversing scroll, so common in works of art executed by the Northmen, and a species of ornament found on the lower portion of the *banta-stone*, at Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man, and on an urn figured in the Earl of Ellesmere's Translation. In a border underneath the crescent the drawing exhibits a portion of a very legible inscription in Scandinavian runes which reads plainly enough "MKITIL : THA," being, as I think, the remains of a very ordinary form of Norse inscription [GRI]MKITIL : THA[NA : RAIST] = Grimkitil engraved this, that is to say, made or designed the ornament.[23] It is similar in character to an inscription in St. Molio's Cave at Arran : NIKULOS : THANE ; RAIST—Nicholas carved or engraved this, but in regard to which Dr. Wilson, confounding a carelessly formed *t* with the letter *a*, renders the intermediate word *Celtic*, which he calls *ahane!*

I understand that the learned principal of

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[23] Worsaae says (Primeval Antiquities of Denmark p. 115) "of the bronze period no distinct traces of inscriptions appear to have been discovered." The arbitrary divisions of stone, bronze, and iron periods are nothing more than conjecture. Mr. J. M. Kemble takes exception entirely to the classification as irreconcilable with generally admitted facts.

University College, Toronto, has deemed my remarks of sufficient importance to make them the subject of a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in which I am told he condemns my reading and vindicates his own. This is only what might be expected.[24] On a former occasion he had the consideration to suggest that my studies in what he calls "Norse Epigraphy" had scarcely reached that indispensable stage implied in a knowledge of the Runic Alphabet, that I might as well display my knowledge of Greek by ignoring the *theta*, and writing τηεος for Θεος, as seek in Runic inscriptions for an example of *thane* graven with one sign (*tyr*) for *t*, and another (*hagl*) for *h*, instead of with the ᚦ *thurs*, &c. Still, the fact remains the same, that the intermediate word *is* the Norse *thane*, and that, notwithstanding this flourish of trumpets, "*ahane*" or "*of Hane*" is unmitigated

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[24] Since this was written I have seen Dr. Wilson's communication to the Antiquaries, but have nothing to alter or amend. The first letter of the second word in the woodcut illustration which accompanies his paper is not accurately represented. He places the slanting line which projects downwards, in the *centre* of the perpendicular line. This is near the top in the original. I made a plaster cast of the inscription in dispute with my own hand while on a visit to a friend who occupied the residence on Holy Island.

nonsense.[25] What I did say was simply this:—

"The inscription in St. Molio's Cave, so named, is executed in Northern Runic characters, and the language is pure Norse. 'The reading,' Dr. Wilson says, 'is sufficiently simple and unmistakeable.' It unfortunately so happens that he does mistake it. The first letter of the intermediate word, which he confounds with the initial letter of the alphabet, is an exceptional form of the letter '*t*' in the Icelandic word *thana* or *thane*, 'this.' The inscription reads, '*Nikulos thane raist*,' *i.e.*, 'Nikulos engraved this;' plainly referring, not, as Dr. Wilson imagines, to the excavation of the recess—which has all the appearance of a water-worn cavity—but to the mere incision of the characters which compose the inscription.

"Founding on the accident of name, the author of the *Prehistoric Annals* connects this supposed ghostly retreat with a Bishop of Sodor and Man, who attained to his episcopate about the year 1193, although, in my opinion, it might with equal probability be connected with the passage

25 "Had M. Worsaae's history preceded his own, Dr. Wilson would have found that *en hane* means a cock, and by transition a hen, scottice barn-yard fowls; from which it might have been inferred 'twas here the Ghostly father kept his poultry!"—*Notes and Queries*, April 27, 1867.

of the Israelites through the Red Sea. Rude, beyond all question, as were the habits of the men of those times, the Manx bishops of the thirteenth century,[9] if they at all resembled their brethren of the rest of Europe, had other notions of comfort than to burrow in the damp holes of an insulated rock, although the place seems not unlikely as an occasional retreat of the Norse Vikings scouring the fjords."

I transcribe my reply for the benefit of the reader, leaving him to his own conclusions :—

"So long as Dr. Wilson fails to recognise the Icelandic sign *tyr*, in the first letter of the intermediate word of the Runic inscription, carved within the water-worn recess on Holy Island, and confounds the Greek *eta* with the letter *H*, from its apparent resemblance to that character, he has more reason to correct his own 'epigraphy' than draw attention to my deficiencies in this respect, real or supposed.

"Dr. Wilson will be pleased to observe that I am not the *author*, but the *expounder*, of the inscription. I am not bound to explain *why* the

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9 Heylyn places the episcopate of Bishop Nicholas between the years 1203 and 1217.

characters *tyr* and *hagl* have been used in place of the usual *thurs*. Sufficient for my purpose that I have accurately represented the fact. I answer, once for all, that I submitted a cast of this inscription to a gentleman well skilled in Northern Runic literature, who quite confirmed my reading. The letters of the intermediate word certainly are, as I read, *t*, *h*, *a*, *n*, *e*. If your correspondent, Dr. Wilson, can find in these anything other than the Norse word *thane*, he must possess a fertile imagination. I have not seen the new edition of the *Prehistoric Annals*, but do not accept Dr. Wilson's representation of the character in dispute as given in the first.

"I cannot help what Professor Munch may have said in regard to this—to me at least—apocryphal saint. I am a disciple and tributary of Professor *Fact*. So far as I am aware, Professor Munch did not say that this inscription does not contain the word *thane*." Should the reader wish to push his enquiries further, he will find a communication on this subject from another contributor to *Notes and Queries*, contained in the number issued on July 13th, 1867. The writer of this says that "upon the whole" he is "inclined to adopt" my reading, "which," as he is pleased to state, "makes sense of it,

and accords with the ordinary import and style of Runic inscriptions."

Ferguson tell us (*Northmen in Cumberland*, &c., p. 74) that "violations of grammar are not uncommon in Runes." From another source we learn that "The Vikings were a *singularly illiterate race*," so says the author of *Rude Stone Monuments*. This sufficiently accounts for the exceptional character of the inscription in St. Molio's cave, and satisfactorily disposes of Dr. Wilson's epigraphic criticism. It is not in a literate or cultured community that we look for the individuals who cut their names on trees or carve them on stones.

In 1858 being inclined to doubt Dr. Wilson's account of the "Hunterston Brooch" I removed from my copy of the *Prehistoric Annals*, the representation, and letterpress referring to this work of early art, and sent the sheets to Mr. William Kneale, of Douglas, Isle of Man, a gentleman who had given much attention to the study of Northern Runic inscriptions, from whom I received the following reply :—

"Many thanks for the Runic inscription. I saw at once that Dr. Wilson had copied it inaccurately from the brooch. It seems to me that the following, as far as it goes, is more

correct (he sets down the Runic characters) and gives the translation *Malbritha a dalk thana*, *i.e.* Melbrigd owns this brooch.

"Professor Munch, when in Scotland, met with a brooch on which this inscription was engraved (see Worsaae's *Danes* and *Northmen*, page 293). The language is Norse."

We have also the opinion of Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, on the subject of Dr. Wilson's "epigraphy" in relation to this identical brooch. He says of this great Celtic expositor:—

"Professor Wilson's own version must be rejected also, not only because it is based on a false assumption—that the language is Celtic—but also because he handles the staves themselves too freely, and allows himself liberties that cannot be approved. Four letters he omits altogether." (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. VII. p. 462.)

The following excerpt from a singularly stupid article compiled by some slip-shod contributor to *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, Edit. 1879, occurs under the heading *Runes*, and is evidently made up of vagaries culled from the *Prehistoric Annals*:—"The Celtic races from their connection with the Scandinavians, became acquainted

with their alphabet, and made use of it in writing their own language, and hence we have on the Western Islands of Scotland, and in the Isle of Man, runic inscriptions, not in the Anglo-Saxon, but in the Norse character, with however, a few peculiarities of their own. . . . There is an inscription in the same characters on a remarkable brooch dug up at Hunterston in Ayrshire. Dr. D. Wilson considers that the Celtic population of Scotland were as familiar with Norse as the Northumbrian with Saxon runes." Now the truth of this is all the other way. *I emphatically deny that there exists, or ever did exist, within the entire range of the British Islands, or elsewhere within the knowledge of any human being, a single example of a Celtic inscription in Northern runic characters or in any character whatever hitherto known among men.* The whole of Sir Daniel Wilson's imaginary instances have been completely disproved. He first assumes, as in the case of the Hunterston Brooch, that the language is Celtic, and argues thence inconsequentially that the aboriginal Celtic inhabitants inscribed in runic characters and understood the Norse tongue. It would be as much to the purpose to affirm that a London street Arab understood Sanscrit, or could decipher the characters of the

Rossetta stone. If there be any penalty attaching hereafter to the propagation of abstract error, the author of the *Prehistoric Annals* may well tremble. As I tell him in my letter of July, 1884, "A man is not responsible for his belief, but he *is* responsible for the manner in which he examines the grounds on which he forms that belief." We have this on good authority, and I think it is sound philosophy.

My father's sketch was, with my concurrence, submitted in the first instance to Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, who in a letter to Dr. Anderson wrote as follows:—"This glorious piece speaks for itself. It is clearly as genuine as it is carefully—even piously drawn—Pictish or not, it is the old Scottish make, and ornaments, which we recognise at once. It would seem to date from the early iron age, and *may* be nearly as old as the time of Christ, though of course it may be later. The runes have been cut in later, by a Viking owner, whose loot or property by plunder or marriage, it had become. The letters would seem to point to the tenth or eleventh century," &c. "From the space," he continues, "I suppose the name on the bronze was GRIMKITIL, what followed we shall never know," &c. At another part of his letter, he

says, "I shall be delighted to get a cast of your block for use in my Vol. 3, of which seventeen sheets are ready. But I have not yet come to 'England and Scotland.' The runes are *not* my runes, but the piece is so exceptionally costly that I wish to find a place for it."

Dr. Anderson says of the drawing at page 45 of his *Scotland in early Christian Times*, "There is one record of an object in metal which claims attention from the singularity of its character. Unfortunately the thing itself is not known to exist, and all the information which we possess regarding it is derived from a drawing made in 1796, which is still preserved, and was communicated (at my request) to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mr. J. C. Roger in 1880. The drawing was made by his father, the late Mr. Charles Roger, of Dundee, and bears a memorandum made at the time to the effect that the original was dug up at the Laws Monifieth," &c. "Its character," he continues, "is sufficiently distinct, and if we admit the drawing to be a faithful copy, we must admit the inscription to be undoubtedly Scandinavian. The care and fidelity of the drawing may be tested by a scrutiny of the manner in which the artist has rendered the style of the ornament;

and no one who is familiar with the style of Celtic [?] ornament, and the peculiar treatment of its details, will fail to recognise its distinctive features."

I am thus particular, because a learned friend at the Bar suggests that the note appended to my communication in the "Proceedings," casts a doubt of authenticity. Another note affixed to my paper by the editors is placed there apparently to discredit Ferguson's statement that the barrow opened on Beacon Hill was a *Scandinavian* interment.[26] It is objected that the account printed in "Archæologia," which Ferguson follows does not mention "*Magical Runes*." It says "*Emblematical figures*," which is the same thing. Baring-Gould gives a table

26 Ferguson objecting to the popular notion that this hill took its name from being the site of a beacon, derives it from the Scandinavian personal name *Bekan*, which is not in itself improbable. In this particular instance however it seems to be from *becun*, a term commonly employed to denote a memorial stone, with which the barrow had no doubt been formerly surmounted. "The Bewcastle runes," Mr. Browne says, "call the pillar a *becun*, and a fragment found at Thornhill, with an Anglo-Saxon inscription in very fine Roman capitals, describes the monument of which it formed part as a *becun*." (*See Cassell's Art Magazine, Dec.* 1884.) It is worthy of note that another stone at Thornhill containing the usual interlacing knot-work grotesquely called *Celtic*, bears a long runic inscription. (*See the Art Magazine already referred to.*) Surely such facts ought to carry conviction to the mind of every unprejudiced enquirer regarding the visionary character of so-called *Celtic art*.

of Icelandic magical signs or emblematical figures, some of which might be compared with the stone markings of the Beacon Hill tomb. The latter, however, as to the manner of execution do not suggest the idea that they are very accurately represented. I take leave to differ from the editors of the "Proceedings" as to the character of the sword which, as I think, is the remains of a distinctively Viking weapon.

In the course of communication with Dr. Anderson, I suggested a doubt as to the Celticism of the ornament found at Laws, and was met with the following characteristic reply :—"One word by way of explanation. I did not refer to the *symbolism* of the plate—only to its art. But I may now say that, on the question of these, there is but one opinion possible if facts are to be the basis of opinion. These two symbols only occur in Scotland. They are not known in even *one* instance outside of that area.[?] When they do occur in Scotland, they are in every instance associated with a character and quality of art which is Celtic. [?] They have this distinctive artistic character as the prime element in their own decoration. This is the evidence. Their *origin* will become a question for discussion

when evidence relevant to infer an origin turns up. In the meantime I form no opinion on that question, but on the question of their character, I have the evidence of art, which nothing can rebut. I know nothing whatever that points to the Gothic origin of the symbols, and it will be time enough to contemplate that possibility when it has been demonstrated possible," &c.

It is impossible to conceive what evidence an expounder of Celticism would consider relevant which contradicts his preconceptions, but I drew attention to the fact that in this instance we have a Norse personal name inscribed in Northern Runic characters united to certain symbols hitherto assigned to a species of art arbitrarily called *Celtic*, and to a people vaguely termed *Celts*. I further suggested that Professor Stephens' idea that a Northman appropriated, and affixed his name to a specimen of so-called Celtic art is fanciful and incapable of proof. On the other hand, the presence of the name on the bronze plate is an indisputable fact, and this in my judgment is "evidence relevant to infer an origin," or at least, to indicate the race among whom the symbols were in use. Professor Stephens so far confirms my reading of the runes that the remaining letters of the inscrip-

tion are those of the Norse personal name "GRIMKITIL." Dr. Anderson himself goes farther and explains the inscription "GRIMKITIL TIA," but ignores my suggestion as to the absent portion, shrouding his apparent objection in the vague generalities which I have just related. Like the Agnostic in Justin McCarthy's "Maid of Athens," he tells us that he knows nothing of the origin of the symbols, and at the same time informs us that there is but one opinion possible. This inscription on the bronze plate would, if perfect, be a complete refutation of so-called Celtic art. As it is, it points fatally against the assumption of the abettors of Celticism, and distinctly to the Northmen of the Viking period, or to the Picts their predecessors of the same race, as the authors of the symbols. If it can be established that these were used by the Scandinavians, it matters not for my purpose, whether they originated with them or were derived from a foreign source.

We read in the proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries (Vol. III. p. 149) that "Mr. John Stuart exhibited drawings made by Mr. Tate of Alnwick, of figures sculptured on rocks near the site of two hill forts in Northumberland. He

considered these figures bore a marked resemblance to some of those engraved in the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,'" &c. The mirror symbol certainly occurs on a stone at Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man. Baring-Gould (see my paper to the Antiquaries Vol. II. new series, p. 273) found the Z symbol carved on a stone in Iceland. An instance of the "spectacle ornament occurs on a stone sculptured with interlaced work found in the Church of Bilton, Yorkshire. Mr. Browne referred to this stone in a paper read to the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* in October 1883 [27] "Another cross," he said, "was found some years ago at Bilton, near Tadcaster. The shaft of this cross was remarkable as bearing a man holding a large knife, and a woman with a figure exactly resembling the 'Spectacle' ornament which was one of the three unique symbols of the Pictish stones in Scotland. In Scotland it was usually associated with a broken sceptre, but in two instances which he had shown at Dunfallandy the stones had no sceptre,* and were *to all appearance identical* with that on the Bilton stone." The

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27 Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

* The Spectacle symbol without the broken sceptre or deflected ornament occurs on the fragment of a sculptured stone at Monifieth.

spectacle symbol appears on a Norwegian brooch found at Skaill in Orkney. It occurs on a face of Thor, engraved on the pinhead, and exactly resembles the symbol on the Bilton stone." The writer of the paper descriptive of this find, draws no conclusion from a fact so palpably connecting this figure with the Northmen,* but slurs the matter over in the usual manner of Celtic exposition. "The eyes," he says, "connected by double lines" [whoever saw the *eyes* of a face connected by double lines!] across the upper part of the nose, so as to give the face a curiously spectacled look." It is in point of fact, the *spectacle ornament*, to the dismay of the "Celtomaniac,"[28] this time placed on the nose of the Scandinavian deity. (*See* Proceed. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. Vol XV. p. 295. 1880–81.) An example of the spectacle symbol, without the deflected lines, occurs on the neck of a human head, engraved in the atlas of the Royal

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* "Une fibule en forme de lunettes"—a brooch of bronze, found at Fredricksburg in Zealand, formed like the spectacle symbol of the Scotch sculptured stones is figured at page 269 *Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1887.

28 An epithet apparently the invention of the late Dr. Angus Smith, F.R.S. I apply it generally to the expounders of the Celtic myth not in particular to any individual.

Society of Northern Antiquaries, printed at Copenhagen in 1857, and near to it, on the same illustration, the *fylfot* or figure of Thor's hammer. (Tab. VII. fig. 130.)

The Bilton sculpture forms the illustration to a note by Canon Raine of York, communicating its discovery to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (see Vol. XI. p. 177). This reverend contributor mentions in his letter to Dr. Stuart, a mutilated example of that ornament found on a stone at Ripon, in the same county, the most Scandinavian district of England I have already mentioned the sceptre and crescent found in the Broch of Burrian, one of those circular stone towers which Fergusson has so conclusively demonstrated to be the work of the Norwegians. There is still another fact to which I would direct attention, and which so far as I am aware has not before been pointed out, namely, that in the group of rock sculptures of the "Doo Cave" at East Wemyss, side by side with the figure called an "elephant" (why so called I know not) is the sign of Thor's hammer, identical in form with the fifteenth figure, so named in Baring-Gould's table of Icelandic magical signs given in his published work, London, 1863. It differs from this only in that the

transverse portion of the symbol from the perpendicular line towards the left hand is omitted from the rock sculpture, either by *laches* of the artist, or that it has been effaced from the stone by lapse of time. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that this is the figure intended. It might be well to have the sculptures of the "Doo Cave" carefully re-examined, as in my opinion, it proves much. No doubt in regard to this symbol, if it be found impossible to deny that it is Thor's hammer, it will, in the usual style of Celtic reasoning, be explained that it had been placed there at some later period, &c. This is the way in which every adverse fact is explained away and stopped short of its legitimate conclusion. I have no doubt that further proofs will yet be forthcoming to connect these symbols with the Northmen or the early Scandinavian settlers of North Britain. The particular form of Thor's hammer to which I refer is the *fylfot* or *cross cramponnee*. The character of this emblem has been clouded by irrelevant suggestions thrown out to confound the true state of the question, and raise a false issue. The *fylfot*, it is said, "was not always and everywhere pagan." "It was a sacred symbol of the Buddhists," &c., and was used (so it is alleged)

"as a Christian [?] symbol in the catacombs," &c., the usual admixture of the *suppressio veri*, and *suggestio falsi*, which characterises Celtic disquisition—statements which if true are of no value whatever in determining the character of this figure in relation to the monuments of the British islands. Seeing that, as regards these, it can neither have been borrowed from the Buddhists nor the Catacombs, it would be idle to follow such impossible suggestions. What is of more importance, is that as far back as it can be traced the fylfot was a symbol used by the Goths, and ancient Scandinavians, and other Teutonic nations as the sign of the god Thor, a fact which abettors of the Celtic myth systematically ignore. The *cross cramponnee* or hammer of Thor is found on the Newton pillar, on a bauta-stone at Craignarget, on several of the Irish stones, on the book of Lindisfarne, on a shield on the Bayeux Tapestry, and on Scandinavian coins belonging to the period of ancient Danish civilization. Four specimens of coins mentioned by Baring-Gould, which bear the symbol in question, exhibit also the name of Thor in runic letters.*

* Numerous examples of the fylfot or hammer of Thor, are shown in the illustrations of the Atlas of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 1887.

"The cross of Thorr," he tells us, "is still used in Iceland as a magical sign in connection with storms of wind and rain," that "among the German peasantry the sign of the cross is used because it resembles Thorr's hammer, and Thorr is the thunderer; for the same reason," he adds, "bells were often marked with the 'fylfot' or cross of Thorr, especially where the Norse settled, as in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.* Thorr's cross was on the bells of Appleby and Scotherne, on those of Hathersage in Derbyshire, Maxborough in Yorkshire, and many more.†

The sculpturings at East Wemyss exhibit

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* Mr. Jewitt mentions that in various churchwardens' accounts items of payments are to be found for "ringinge the hallowed bells in grete tempestes and lightninges."

† The fylfot appears on Etruscan and Roman pottery, on Roman sculptures, and in later times on monumental brasses and effigies of ecclesiastics, &c. An interesting account of this symbol as Thor's hammer, by Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., will be found in the number of *The Art Journal* for December, 1875. There is also an account of the fylfot as the "Swastica" of the Buddhists, by Frederic Pincott, M.R.A.S., in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April, 1887. Mr. Pincott thinks it "quite possible that this distinctly Buddhist emblem may have an accidental resemblance to some other objects venerated by other nations; but before any real relationship can be claimed, the various distinguishing features of each should be carefully noted and compared, and the probability of borrowing should be reasonably ascertained. "The figure," he says, "is a very simple one, not requiring much skill to invent, and might well have suggested itself to many people to represent many different ideas."

other signs of Scandinavian origin. In the "Doo Cave" are two examples of a form of Thor's hammer resembling a Greek cross, a figure that occurs on the Culbinsgarth stone at Bressay in Shetland. This variety of Thor's symbol is described in Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 352. "Among the flint weapons discovered in Denmark," he says, "are stone cruciform hammers, with a hole at the intersection of the arms for the insertion of the haft. As the lateral limbs could have been of little use, it is probable that these cruciform hammers were those used in consecrating victims to Thorr's worship." The crosses in the "Doo Cave" correspond exactly in form with figure 10 of Baring-Gould's plate given at page 344 of the work referred to. In this cave (see *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. IX., plate III., sec. 3) are two figures of the arch-symbol terminating at both ends in a form resembling the mouth of a trumpet. This identical symbol appears on one of the stones of a chambered cairn of Kivik, in Sweden (see illustrations to Sir J. Y. Simpson's paper in the appendix to Vol. VI. of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, plate XXXII., fig. 8). On another stone

of this cairn is a figure resembling the crescent-shaped ornament of the Scotch sculptured stones, while a third stone, which determines the origin of the Kivik cairn, is carved with two unequivocal examples of the Scandinavian instrument of warfare called a Danish battle-axe. Among the rock symbols of the Fife caves is the Northern Runic letter *Ur* (corresponding to our English *U*); also the Runic characters *i* and *p* (*is* and *peorth*), the latter resembling the English letter *K*. "The figure in Jonathan's Cave" called a cross of "six limbs" (✳) is probably a rude example of the Runic letter *hagl*, and the one in juxta-position a variety of Thor's hammer. A very distinct example of this symbol appears on a stone sculpture from St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton, figured at p. 320, Vol. V., new series, of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, April, 1883.

Dr. T. A. Wise supposes the Buddhist *dorje* to be the original of the spectacle ornament, and thinks it probable that the Buddhist priests in the early centuries of the Christian era reached Scotland, by means of Phœnician ships. I am, however, more disposed to go with him when he says, that: "The zigzag lines are probably a

representation of the thunderbolt[29] [Thor was called the God of strength and thunder] the great token of Divine Sovereignty, which was afterwards modified into the sceptre the symbol of power," "and that the spectacle ornament (the all seeing eye) is the symbol of the deity." There seems a glimmering of light in all this. The fundamental ideas of the whole system of the religion of the ancient Scandinavians, were the existence and moral attributes of one supreme God, the Allfader; the immortality of the soul; and a future state of retribution, but on this was grafted a complicated system of mythology.[30] This existed among the North-

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29 The emblem of the God Thor was a thunderbolt. Having regard to the multiform character of Thor's symbol, I am more and more convinced that the deflected lines which usually accompany the "spectacle ornament," so often met with on the Scottish sculptured stones, are nothing other than one of its many varieties. The Northern nations, it is well known, continued the rites and ceremonies of Pagan worship long after their conversion to Christianity. An example of Thor's hammer or thunderbolt in the deflected form appears on the stone in Iceland shewn to Baring-Gould in the *tun* of Thor-fasther. (*See my letter to the Assistant-Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Feb.* 21*st*, 1880, *printed in the Society's Proceedings, Vol. II., new series, p.* 268.)

30 "The Goths equalled the Greeks, Romans, and Hindoos in the number of their idols. In Gothland one hundred of them were exhibited in the great Temple dedicated to Thor. Their belief in a Trinity of the Godhead had been adopted in Asia, and it prevented their conversion to Christianity until the introduction of the Athanasian Creed, several centuries after the death of Christ."—*Thomson, Secretary to the Marquess of Hastings in India.*

men before they peopled Iceland and still lingers in the magical signs to which I have referred. No doubt, as Dr. Wise suggests, these were remotely derived from the Asiatic cradle of Odin and his followers,[31] though not, as I think, in the way he supposes. It is probable that some allegorical interpretation of these mythic histories prevailed among the native priesthood of Scotland of Scandinavian descent. Mystical signs were believed by the unlettered Scandinavians to contain something supernatural, and spells, we are told, were in frequent use graven on the prows of their ships, the handles of their swords, or worn like an amulet on the body.[32] Examples of these are probably found in the silver chains of

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31 "It is now no longer admissible to believe in a historic Odin, whom all the mediæval historians represent as living in the first century B.C . . . . The modern school of Germans has discovered that Odin was a god who lived in the sky in pre-Adamite times, and never condescended to visit our sublunary sphere. It is now rank heresy to assume that during the thousand years which elapsed between his pretended date and that of our earliest MSS. the wild imaginings of barbarous tribes may have gathered round the indistinct form of a natural hero transferred him back to a mythic age, and endowed him with the attributes and surroundings of a god. As the Germans have decreed this, it is vain to dispute it, and not worth while to attempt it here."—*Rude Stone Monuments, by Jas. Fergusson, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., Lond.*, 1872, *p.* 277.

32 "Although some representations by figures were at first simple objects of convenience in the common intercourse of mankind, yet everywhere, as with the Egyptians and Goths, they must have been

circular double links to some of which is affixed a penannular terminal ornament graven with the z symbol and spectacle ornament and other signs so frequently found on the bauta-stones of North Britain. Five of these charms found in Scotland are in the Museum of the Edinburgh Antiquaries. They were discovered, one in 1809 in excavating the Caledonian Canal, near the north end of Loch Ness; another in 1864, at Parkhill, Aberdeenshire; a third in the parish of Crawfordjohn, Lanarkshire; a fourth was lately found at Hordwell, Berwickshire; and a fifth at Haddington. That found at Crawfordjohn bears the zigzag lines common to works of art of the twelfth century. Three double discs of silver-plated bronze; examples of the spectacle ornament, probably used as spells or charms by the Scandinavians, were found in 1878 in a viking grave at Ballinaby in Islay. One of these is figured in Vol. XIV. of the Proceedings of the

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employed more extensively in the mystical ceremonies of superstition: and, therefore, they were known as hieroglyphics or runes, both of which denote sacred inscriptions. The most ancient and general practice of divination or incantation, consisted in scattering ritually a parcel of rods, and predicting events from the appearances they exhibited on the ground. Runn, in Gothic, is a bunch of twigs or branches, and the mountain ash or wild sorbus, which so long maintained its superstitious reputation in Scotland, was there and in Denmark called run or rountree."—*Thomson*.

Scottish Antiquaries, p. 66, and presents the ornamentation of the twelfth century. It is not improbable that the bronze plate found at Laws had also been used for the like purpose, as also the leaf-shaped plate with the peculiar symbol found in the Norries Law tomb. Perhaps too the ox-bone and incised symbols found in the Broch of Burrian. Dr. Daniel Wilson, describing one of the bodkins of the Norries Law find, unwittingly confirms my conjecture. "The mode of introducing the symbol," he says, "is peculiarly suggestive of its use as a charm." I have said that the Runic inscription contained on the plate found at Laws points fatally against the assumption that the art is Celtic. The same is true of the Hunterston brooch, about which so much nonsense has been written, and which in all its details is so palpably Scandinavian. The same of the brooch dug up in North Trondheim in Norway, along with two bowl-shaped brooches of the Viking period, confessedly Norwegian; of the brooch found at Rogart in 1868, and of that found in Mull. The same of the Tara brooch,[33] and of the brooch of bronze found

33 Tara was an ancient seat of Irish Scandinavian Royalty. *Cormac*, the grandson of *Con*, commonly called Cormac Mac Art, according to Tighernach, reigned A.D. 218-266.

in a viking grave in Westray. In spite of "typical forms" and "the absence of hesitation among Scandinavian archæologists" and of "the evidence of art which nothing can rebut," I venture to affirm that these brooches, one and all, with every example of kindred type, are in the highest degree of moral certainty the work of Norwegian artists; at least it is for the expounders of Celticism to *prove* the contrary, seeing how much it is against their hypothesis *à priori*. It is only reasonable to believe that works of art, identical with other works of art, and united with Norse inscriptions in Northern Runic characters are *prima facie* Scandinavian. There need be no mystical cant on a very plain subject. Whether the Northmen derived their knowledge of art from *Celtic* or from *Roman* models may be safely left to the judgment of the reader. With the Woodchester pavement before him it is not difficult to imagine which way the balance will incline.[34]

The stone which formerly stood in the church-

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[34] The general design of the Roman mosaic pavement found at Woodchester is a circular area of 25 feet in diameter. This is surrounded by a border of interlaced work, within which are representations of various beasts (originally twelve in number), among these are figures of a gryphon, a bear, a leopard, a stag, a tigress, a dog, and an elephant.

yard of Kilbar, in the island of Barra, has been pronounced *ex cathedra*, as to its Runic inscription, which no one disputes, "unequivocally Scandinavian," and as to its art, "*unequivocally Celtic*," which I must be permitted to doubt. The writer of the remarks to which I have referred will pardon my incredulity in a matter to him so very plain, and kindly vouchsafe what Mr. Cosmo Innes would have called the "real evidence." "The evidence of art" is no evidence at all, because the Celticism of the art with which this is compared has not been demonstrated. We must find the touchstone by which the test itself is to be tried. As the matter stands, it is simply another form of Descartes' well known sophism, *cogito ergo sum*. "No stone monument in Scandinavia," we are told, "bears either a cross of this form or a mingled decoration of interlaced work, spirals, and fret-work of this special character." This is simply splitting hairs and creating differences out of nothing. No argument whatever can be founded upon mere arrangement of details. The spiral, in every variety of form, is notoriously a Scandinavian ornament,[35] and

35 Teste the sculptured monuments of the Isle of Man. See also the translation of Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, by W. J. Thoms. An expounder of the Celtic myth, speaking of the rune-

the presence of this alone, on the ground of art, irrespective of other evidence, determines the question. There are several Manx sculptures, exceptional in character, which we know were set up by the Norwegians, counterparts of which are not to be found in Scandinavia. Be that as it may, there is abundant evidence to show that this style of art was known to the Northmen who had settled in the British Islands. Testimony the most direct and circumstantial is found on the monumental crosses of the Isle of Man "No other of the Western islands," M. Worsaae says, "affords so many and such incontestible proofs of its having once had a very widespread Norwegian or Scandinavian population, who spoke their own language, and who, through a long series of years, must have been the predominant

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inscribed cruciform monument at Kirk Braddan, with its dragonesque forms and cable mouldings, tells us that the "zoomorphic patterns of animals are treated in a style that is *more Scandinavian than Celtic*," &c. I do not hesitate to affirm that he who seeks to cast a doubt on the *exclusively Scandinavian character of this sculpture* proclaims his own incompetence as a judge of fact. The reviewer of Dr. Wise's book in the *St. James's Gazette* of March 17th, 1885, has no doubt on the subject of the Manx stones, which he says "may be classed with Scandinavian stones; and that group," he tells us, "has its own questions of special interest." Whatever the questions may be, it is sufficiently clear that the Manx are the only stones in regard to which we have *positive evidence*, and this cannot be diluted by any questions that may be raised.

race." We know from the inscription on a stone at Kirk Andreas that *Gaut Björnsön* made it." From another at Kirkmichael, that "Gaut made this and all on Man." Whether all that "were at that time on Man," or at any other time is of no consequence. Gaut's surname, M. Worsaae says, "proves his Norwegian or Scandinavian descent." So far there is nothing to object. It is, however, evident from what follows, that the Danish antiquary has been too ready to accept, not only the facts of Celtic expositors, but also the medium through which they viewed them. When he tells us that the Norwegians imitated and altered the Scotch models (he uses the term "Scotch" in the sense of *Celtic*), it is plain he is giving a deliverance which he has no means of knowing to be true. When it shall be demonstrated that the Scotch sculptured stones are *Celtic*, it will be time enough to consider the Norwegians of Man as copyists of Celtic art. Meanwhile, it is self-evident that the Runic crosses of Man were carved and set up by Norwegian artists, and we know of no race but the Northmen who set up Bauta-stones. The inference from this is, that the sculptors of the stones found in Scotland were Scandinavian. We know that the sons of Thor and Odin, were

commanded as a sacred duty to erect an upright stone to the memory of their warrior-dead. This was placed on the sepulchral mound, or near to it. M Worsaae infers from such names as "Neaki," "Fjak," and Jab-r," found on the Kirk Braddan stone, that these are Gaelic, that is, Celtic names; and again, of a stone at Kirk-michael, that it "has a Norwegian inscription with purely Gaelic names." This inscription reads "Mal Lumkun erected this cross to his foster-father, Malmor." *Necki Neck* or *Nicken* is the water spirit of the Northmen, used here as a proper name. *Fiach*, and *Faichney* are sea-borne names found on the Moray coast, no doubt imported thither by the Scandinavians. Compare the German name *Fiake*. It is found in the Irish annals in the form of *Fiac*, but by the theory which I advocate, these are presumably Gothic, and its presence there proves not, as I think, the Celticism of the names in the Manx inscriptions, but rather the Gothic origin of the Irish annals. It would be extremely difficult to prove that there is not as much Scandinavian blood in Ireland as in England or Scotland. By Worsaae's own showing, "both the Irish and the Scandinavian records agree that the Norwegians and Danes settled in Ireland

at a very early period." The name Jobson is an east coast Forfarshire name of frequent occurrence, called by the old natives of the district *Jab*son. The *r* final in the Norse name *Jab-r* is no part of the name, but merely the sign of the nominative case. It is much to be regretted that in his treatment of the subject of Danish influence in Scotland M. Worsaae has allowed himself to be cajoled into the acceptance of the "Prehistoric" hypothesis and its glaring absurdities.

If "Mal Lumkun," means Malcolm, as the author of the *Prehistoric Annals* seems to imply, the fact that this name is found in a Norse Runic inscription, does not, as I think, logically suggest the fusion of the Scandinavian and Celtic races, but obviously rather that the personal name Malcolm is Norwegian. In regard to the other name "Malmor," would M. Worsaae be surprised to learn that Malmor or Melmor,[38] is a proper name belonging to that dialect of the Celtic called the Icelandic or Old Norse? Pro-

[38] Ferguson in his *Northmen* gives a long list of names taken from the Land name-book of Iceland. This name is among them. [The Rev. S. Baring-Gould has drawn my attention to the circumstance that the name "Melmor" does not occur in the Land name-book of Iceland. Ferguson states that of the names contained in his list "nearly two-thirds are to be found in Landnamabok," the others he says, "are those

fessor Stephens of Copenhagen, says the Manx stones offer many instances of Celtic names borne by Scandinavians, that, "In ancient times, many Icelanders had names originally Celtic." I utterly reject both these statements. The *onus probandi* rests with the person asserting. "I am a Goth," said Grim Thorkelin the Danish antiquary to Dr. Jameson, —"a native of Iceland; the inhabitants of which are an *unmixed race*, who speak the same language which their ancestors brought from Norway a thousand years ago."

It may be laid down as a rule from which there is no exception, that every name found in a Northern Runic inscription is pure Norse. To suppose otherwise is to contradict common sense. What we are told to believe is *Celtic art*, occurs on the bronze plaque found at Œland, in Sweden (fig 11 page 58, Vol. II. second series, of the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries.) This is an example of Scandinavian art certainly

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which I have actually found to have been borne by Northmen." There can be no reasonable doubt that this name is Scandinavian, being found as a place-name with the distinctively Danish termination *by*, as in the example *Melmerby*, which occurs once in the district of Cumberland, and twice in the North-riding of York. Three names which appear in the so-called *Ossian's poems* or Macpherson fraud are without doubt Scandinavian, namely, *Conal*, *Cormac*, and *Malmor*.]

not earlier than the twelfth century. It exhibits a figure clad in a species of mail or rather jupon, the head of which is placed in a helmet of *interlaced knot work*, disposed like the ornament frequently found on the handle of the old Highland dirk.[39] This is surmounted by an animal of the boar kind in the form of a crest.[40] Crests were long in use before the hereditary bearing of coat armour. These do not, however, appear to have been considered as in any way connected with family arms till about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.[41] The mailed figure of the plaque grasps with one hand an inverted spear, and with the other a short sword of the conventional viking-form, of which so many examples are everywhere figured. If Celtic art be not the *reductio*

39 The name of this weapon which Dr. Wilson calls *Celtic* is found in the Gothic *dorg*, Swedish *dork*, a dagger. The ancient Scandinavian dagger is of the self-same form and character as the highland dirk.

40 The helmets of the Scandinavians were furnished with crests usually in the shape of some animal. That generally represented was the boar. Beowulf refers to the custom of wearing the figure of a boar, which was sacred to Freyja or Frey, the principal God of the Swedes. Boars were sacrificed at the winter solstice by the Goths. This animal, it may be noted in passing, was the badge of the Tenth Roman Legion.

41 The curious in this matter are referred to the *Glossary* of John Henry Parker, Willement, Montagu, Planché, Seton, and two quarto volumes by the late Henry Laing.

ad absurdum we have the anomalous combination of a *Celtic* helmet and a *Norse* sword!

Again of the stone at Aberlemno M. Worsaae informs us that this is "*Scotch*" (I presume he means Celtic) "and *not* Scandinavian." Let us examine the grounds of this judgment. It is not that the Northmen did not erect *bauta-stones*, for this was enjoined by Odin. Not that the figures of this sculpture differ essentially from those of the monolithic remains of the Norwegians in Man, the resemblance being conceded, nor can it be affirmed that Runic, or what we are now told to call interlaced knot work, was unknown to the Northmen, or that the sculptures confessedly executed by them do not abundantly exhibit the like nondescript and fantastic monstrosities which are found on this monument. Neither can it be doubted that the Norsemen were acquainted with the use of mystic symbols. The Danish helmet had the nasal, in Scandinavian called *nef-biorg*. The mounted figures on the Aberlemno sculpture exhibit this peculiarity. The shields on this and some of the other sculptures, as on the slab built into the wall of the churchyard of Menmuir are circular. Planché tells us that Danish shields were of two sorts *circular* and *lunated*. The expression

"moony shields" occurs in the Lodbroka-quida. In the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, is an ancient group of figures carved in ivory among which appears a figure on horseback, holding a crescent-shaped shield. What then remains to M. Worsaae on which to plant his dictum? The style or character of the execution I presume. The character as compared with what? With the monuments of the Celtae? Where are these? What *is* Celtic art, and how or by whom has the knowledge of this been attained? "The Celts" Pinkerton tells us, "had no monuments any more than the Finns, or savage Africans or Americans." Thomson goes farther. He says: "Celtiberia would imply the borders of the Iberus, without any allusion to Celts, who were probably never considered as a distinct nation any more than the Tartars." Fergusson says the dragon ornament on the side of the cross of the Aberlemno stone, looks more like a Scandinavian ornament than anything that can claim an origin farther east.[42]

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42 The dragon with the Goths or Scythians was the emblem of fire. An expounder of the Celtic myth discoursing on the dragon ornament of a penannular brooch of pure Norwegian type found at Skail, in Orkney, proceeds on the assumption that there is an ascertained *Celtic* dragon as well as a dragon confessedly Scandinavian. "The eye," he says, "is not the characteristic eye of the Celtic conventional beast,

Take, as another example, the Invergowrie sculpture. What better evidence of Scandinavian art could possibly be afforded than the dragon ornament of this stone? What more Scandinavian than the dalmatica or vestment of the three figures it contains, composed of the quilted linen or cloth in use among the Northmen? and what better evidence of twelfth century art than the notched and joggled border which surrounds three sides of this stone? This peculiarly

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which is forwardly rounded and backwardly pointed, neither is it the eye which is characteristic of the Scandinavian conventional beast forwardly pointed and backwardly rounded." That is to say, it is neither Celtic nor Scandinavian. This is surely great nonsense. As to the theory of a Celtic dragon-eye, versus an eye Scandinavian, those of the dragon figures on the Kirk Braddon stones are pointed both ways. A bauta-stone in the churchyard of Kirk Michael, in Man, sculptured with a cross filled with interlaced knot work, of which I made an accurate sketch nearly thirty years ago, has a dragon on each side of the lower limb. On one side the line forming the eye of the dragon figure is an exact circle like that of the Skail brooch, while the eye of the dragon on the opposite side is rounded at the back and pointed forward according to the alleged peculiarity of the "conventional Scandinavian beast." Fergusson makes it abundantly evident that the so-called *Celtic* dragon of the Maeshowe tumulus is *Norwegian*. The eye of this figure is rounded in front and pointed backward. It is plain that no rule was observed by the Scandinavian craftsman in forming his dragon's eye. The supposed artificer of the other hypothesis being only figment—a false creation proceeding from the Celt-oppressed brain—the conventional peculiarities of his style do not fall within the scope of intelligent investigation. The Celtic expositor, like a drowning man catching at straws, seizes upon the smallest incident, and distorts it to his own purposes. Fortunately, however, for the cause of truth he is not always too particular in verifying his facts.

Danish quilted work is conspicuously displayed on the Forteviot sculpture, the portion of a Norman arch of the twelfth century found in the bed of the May, and now in the Museum of the Antiquaries at Edinburgh.[43] By the laws of Gula, established, it is said, by Hakon the Good in 963, he who possessed twenty-four marks was obliged to have "a double red shield, a helmet, a coat of mail or a *panzar*, that is, a tunic of quilted linen or cloth," &c. On each shoulder of two of the figures contained on the Invergowrie stone occurs a badge in the manner of a cruciform circle, a symbol of religious significance frequently found on the sculptured rocks of Sweden. If interlaced knot-work be the native Celtic art of North Britain,[44] it is clear, on the evidence of this art which we are told "nothing can rebut," that Celtic influences had penetrated to Abyssinia! How otherwise are we to explain the ornaments found on the MS. Gospels brought thence by Captain Mc Inroy ?[45]

43 Formerly at Freeland House, the seat of Lord Ruthven.

44 "The most common decoration of this remarkable class of native Scottish monuments, apart from the symbols and sculptured figures so frequently introduced, is the interlaced knot-work which appears to have been so favourite a device of Celtic art."—*Prehistoric Annals*, 1*st Edit.*, *p.* 504.

45 This was brought from Abyssinia by Captain Charles Mc Inroy, and presented to the Museum. It is figured and described at page 52, Vol. VIII. of the "Proceedings."

This is written in the *Geez* or old *Ethiopic* language and character. The date of this MS. was placed by David Laing and the Rev. J. E. Brown *not later* than the fourteenth century. It is decorated in the style of art which modern expositors of the "pre-historic" type delight to call *Celtic*, and shows that to the accomplishments ascribed by the learned Principal of University College, Toronto, to the Celtic race,[46] they added an acquaintance with a dialect of the ancient Aramaic tongue. It would be curious to learn whether, in the view of the "pre-historic" antiquary, Abyssinia, at some period of its history, may not have been peopled by the aborigines of North Britain, or if the Aramaic, like the Icelandic or old Norse, be not a dialect of the Celtic tongue! I offer this as a suggestion. Every new view has three stages: first ridicule, then opposition, and, last of all, adoption.[47]

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46 "It cannot be doubted that, in so far as the Celtic race had any literary acquirements, they must have been familiarised both with the Northern language and runes."—Pre-historic Annals, Ed. 1851, p. 528. This reads like satire, for which it is evidently not intended. "In so far as the Celtic race had any literary acquirements." What kind of literary acquirements were likely to be possessed by a race of unlettered savages? A few such commentators as Mr. Kemble would put an end to the farce of Celto-Norse inscriptions

47 Some such idea seems to have occupied the mind of a recent writer where he says, "The ardent nature of the Scot, which kindled

It has always appeared to me that an absurdly fanciful date is usually assigned to Scotch archaic remains, remote far beyond the actual chronology of the events to which they relate. This leads me to note some facts in regard to the Govan sarcophagus, the discovery of which I communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1854. These are that this remain had been deposited in 1762, in a hollow, close to the former entrance to the churchyard, where it was accidentally disinterred by the sexton in 1854. An opportunity having unexpectedly presented itself, I made it my business to ascertain that, previous to 1762, the stone coffin known as the "Govan sarcophagus," with two others, one similarly ornamented with figures of animals and interlaced knot work, another containing the symbol of the Cross carved on its cover, rested under semicircular arches formed within the substance of the church wall, inside the original structure of Govan church. The old church of Govan, I

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with burning zeal at the touch of the new faith, was only to be satisfied with perpetual propagandism" (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 161). Perhaps the following from the *Life and Writings of Homer* would not be inapplicable:—"A people come from a land of priests, and fond of propagating their *native arts*." "A new hypothesis, like a witch's broomstick, will lift him from the mire should the one he rode before have landed him there by accident."—*Edinburgh Review*.

learned on the same authority, was a structure of the Norman period, with its pillars, arches and doorways profusely enriched with Romanesque carvings and interlaced knot work, such as by common consent has been assigned to the early part of the twelfth century. "Some time before the year 1147, Cosmo Innes says, King David I., with consent of his son Henry, granted Guuen to the See of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, in pure alms," &c. The original church of Govan at the time of its removal had so completely fallen to decay, that its replacement by a modern structure had become a necessity.[48] The recumbent monuments vulgarly known as "sow-backed stones" were studded at intervals round the ancient

48 I am indebted for these facts to the late Mr. Robert Rowan, whom I met with accidentally in 1857, while on a visit to the Isle of Man. At the time I made his acquaintance he was seventy-eight years of age, but with memory unimpaired. He was a native of Govan, or had passed his boyhood in the parish. He informed me that his maternal grandfather, who survived till my informant had attained his twenty-first year, was the contractor who removed the old church of Govan in 1762, and from whose lips he received a circumstantial account of the ancient edifice, and the facts here recorded. Rowan had been trained as a draftsman in the office of a builder in Glasgow, and was conversant with the various styles of mediæval architecture. The present church of Govan is not that built in 1762 on the site of the Norman structure, but an entirely modern erection, after the model of the church of Stratford-upon-Avon. This too, I learn, has lately been removed.

edifice. Two of them were placed in juxtaposition, and between them an upright cross, "covered with Runic knot work, with the limbs joined together by a circle." The other coffins to which I have referred were carted away with the *débris* from the old church, and to the fact, that that which now remains was tumbled into a hole to help in levelling the surface, we owe the preservation of this interesting piece of mediæval sculpture. It is worthy of note that a recumbent monument at Luss, on the bank of Loch Lomond, of the same type and character as those found at Govan, is sculptured with the interlaced Norman arch or intersecting arcade of the twelfth century. The coffin dug up at Govan presents the common style of art found on the more elaborate sculptured stones on the east coast of Scotland, but without the symbols. In character and execution it closely resembles the Norman font at Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire, a work of the Twelfth century, figured at page 82 of Rickman's Styles of Architecture, and it has the notched and joggled ornament peculiar to the architectural adornment of that period. In one respect the Govan sarcophagus is unique; it has the sculptor's mason mark incised on the hind

quarter of the horse which supports the mounted figure. This consists of the Roman letter  , formed like that character in the ancient Monkish capital writing, of which Lord Ellesmere in his Translation gives an example taken from the year 1128. This character, identical in form, occurs among the mason-marks of Dryburgh Abbey given by the late Dr. J. A. Smith. (See his paper, "Proceedings of the Antiquaries," Vol. IV. p. 548). In view of these facts it is perhaps unnecessary to add that the idea that this letter had been carved upon the coffin when it had been formerly disturbed is hardly deserving of serious refutation. The editor of the Spalding Club volume on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland has noted the fact that "about the centre of the bottom, and towards the foot, is a circular opening, *such as occurs in stone coffins of more modern date!*" More modern as regards what? How strange it did not occur to him to suppose that the coffin *is* of more modern date; that is, more modern in relation to the hypothetical era which he fancifully assigns to it. We have the same kind of circular reasoning by the same writer in regard to the *Shandwick Stone.* There is no fact or event to mark its epoch or history, yet we are gravely told the

representation of the "Chalice and Host," which it contains, "*are quite of the same fashion as those found on Christian sepulchral monuments in England of a long posterior date.*" What strange perversion! Posterior to what date? Ordinary intellects, unsharpened by the necessity of proving that black is white, in the absence of other evidence, would argue from identity of resemblance to identity of date. Could stronger evidence be afforded of fixed determination to subordinate every fact to a particular hypothesis. If such reasoning as this be admissible, anything may be connected with anything—the "Highland Rüners" with the Bow Street runners, whose function it was to bring up criminals when ripe for a capital conviction.

John Henry Parker says that numerous stone coffins exist which appear to be as old as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are formed of a single block of stone hollowed out to receive the body, with a small circular cavity to fit the head, that they generally contain one or more small holes in the bottom. These apertures are placed there to permit the escape of decomposing matter. It will be seen Mr. Parker limits the era of stone coffins to the eleventh and twelfth

centuries. It can be shown that in not a few instances of stone coffins of the twelfth century, the cavity for the head is *not* found. The Govan sarcophagus is itself a notable example.[50] The most ancient extant forms of the name Govan, as given in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* are *Guuen* and *Guuan*. These seem to contain the Gothic word *gauw* or *gow*, and Danish definite article *en*, which is always added as a post-fix. *Gow* meant primarily, a district or region. It became the Latin *govia*, in the names of places bordering on streams of water, which is the position of this parish in relation to the river Clyde. Thirty years ago the vulgar natives of the district called this name *Given*. In the East Riding of York —a county entirely peopled by the Danes— is found the topographical name *Given*dale, which also occurs in the West Riding, within the liberty of Ripon. The name Govan has

50 "Coffins appear to have been generally made of stone in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; they are usually of one solid piece, with sufficient space for the reception of the body cut out, and are *rather wider at the head, sloping gradually to the feet*. Stone coffins of this kind are continually dug up in old burying grounds in all parts of the country, and are also frequently found in churches *where they were often placed under low arches in the wall*, but have generally been removed from this situation; the arches frequently remain long after their use is forgotten."—*Parker* (later edition). This exactly describes the Govan sarcophagus. No mention here of a "cavity."

therefore no verbal connection with Celts or Celticism. On the contrary, as indicating a decidedly Scandinavian population in and around this place, we find incidental reference to such names as "*Help*, the Bishop's Clerk," "Patrick, called *Floker*," "William *Hauk*," "William de *Kirkintulloch*," "*Grimketil*, who formerly held 'the carucate of land, which now is called *Arkyll*iston,' "&c., all of whom are obviously either Northmen or persons of Northern extraction.

The author of the *Prehistoric Annals*, who leaves the trail of the Celt and his language on everything he touches, seizes upon the Lewis Chessmen figured in the Earl of Ellesmere's Translation, and claims them as Celtic. They exhibit the zigzag marking and interlaced knot work, so common in works of art of the twelfth century.[51] Sir F. Madden ascribes them to the

[51] It is stated in the *Character of the Icelanders*, printed in 1840, by Oliver and Boyd, that "The natives have few amusements, and these chiefly of a quiet and meditative nature. Chess, of which they seem to have various kinds, and a game resembling draughts, are the favourites. Among the ancient games of Scandinavia cited by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, with which the Pagan Danes were acquainted were *hnefataft*, fist-play; *knottaft*, nut-play; and *skaktaft*, chess." In the *Translation of Runic Poetry*, by Bishop Percy, a Northman says that he plays at chess and engraves Runic characters. The game of chess is also referred to in an Anglo-Saxon poem translated by the late J. M. Kemble. Dr. Wilson believes that a set of chessmen preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris *may be* the very chessmen presented to Charlemagne by the Empress Irene. There is no limit to human credulity.

Northmen, and their execution to the middle of that century. "These pieces," he says, "were executed about the middle of the twelfth century by the same extraordinary race of people who at an earlier period of time, under the general name of *Northmen*, overran the greater part of Europe." To this, of course, Dr. Wilson takes exception. Romanesque work, he objects was never yet traced to a Northern source, and in the same breath tells us of St. Magnus Cathedral, a Norman structure founded by a Norwegian Jarl.[52] He draws attention to what he calls "the most remarkable feature in the knight pieces," "the small size of the horses, so characteristic," he tells us, "of the *old Scottish breed*. It is matter of doubt," he adds, "if the Norse warriors of the twelfth century ever fought on horseback." I do not, of course, know where this chronicler of *prehistoric* events obtained his information regarding the breed of Scotch horses of the twelfth century, but that there were mounted Vikings is now placed beyond doubt. In a letter which I received from Mr. W. Galloway, written from Colonsay in August, 1884, he says: "Since I came over here from

52 Worsaae says that the architect of Kirkwall Cathedral was a native of Norway.—*Danes and Norwegians*, p. 250.

Oransay I have been working out the Scoto-Scandinavian problem, not from the theoretic, but purely practical point of view. Under the conviction that the Viking grave discoveries of 1882 were not quite complete, I attacked the matter again with surprising results. I found two rough Schist flags with crosses rudely incised upon them which had evidently formed part of the enclosure which surrounded the human remains. Outside of these, in ground which had not been previously disturbed, I found, and only yesterday completely disinterred the entire skeleton of the Viking's horse in a wonderfully perfect state of preservation. This is an important discovery, and the first of the kind that has taken place in Scotland."[53]

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53 The Viking grave to which Mr. Galloway refers is situated at Kiloran Bay, in the island of Colonsay, Argyllshire, and was discovered by Mr. Malcolm M'Neil in 1882. It contained a human skeleton placed within an enclosure 15 feet by 10 feet formed of rough schistose slabs. The skeleton lay in a crouching posture on its left side in one angle of the enclosed space. Near to this in the sand were found an iron sword of the ordinary Viking type, a battle axe, a spear head, two shield bosses, fragments of a large iron pot, and a large number of clinker nails or rivets. Besides these, in the space between the chin and the knees of the skeleton, were found a bronze weighing beam and scales in an almost perfect state of preservation, and relating to these a series of curious weights formed of lead, and capped with bronze plates, some of which are enamelled, others engraved with devices. The weights range from 200 to 2,000 grains. Other articles of bronze consisted of fragments of engraved mounts of horse-

The source of Romanesque or debased Roman art, as its name imports, was Imperial Rome, but its introduction into England and Scotland, and other parts of Western Europe, was without doubt by the Romish priesthood, who were the natural successors of the priests of Pagan Roman.[53½] This was a result of what has been called the "confluence of nations," a general movement throughout Christendom which culminated in the twelfth century, when the Roman Pontiff of that day set his foot in the stirrup and rode rough-shod over the liberties of Europe. Nevertheless Rome was to the middle ages "the heart of its religion, the source of its culture, and the nucleus of its politics. Her spirit

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trappings. Two Anglo-Saxon coins were picked out of the sand, one of them said to belong to the middle of the ninth century. The facts which relate to Mr. M'Neil's discovery are taken from an account of this find which appeared in the *Weekly Scotsman* of Feb. 21st, 1885.

53½ "Nothing concurred so much with my original intention of conversing solely or chiefly with the ancients, or so much helped my imagination to fancy myself wandering about in *Old Heathen Rome*, as to observe and attend to their *Religious Worship;* all whose ceremonies appeared plainly to have been copied from the *Rituals of Primitive Paganism*, as if handed down by an uninterrupted succession from the *Priests of Old* to the *Priests of New Rome*. As oft as I was present at any religious exercise in their churches, it was more natural to fancy myself looking on at some *solemn act of idolatry in Old Rome*, than assisting at a worship, instituted on the principles, and formed upon the plan of Christianity."—*Letter from Rome showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism, by Conyers Middleton, D.D.. London*, 1729.

ushered in a new life of law, of art, of enlightment."[54] The Roman Church in Scotland adapted her ceremonial to the humour of the people with whom she had to deal, and combined with her religious instruction the ceremonial and superstitions of the Northern settlers whom she found there at her advent. Like the Jesuits of the Celestial Empire, she scrupled not to adjust the matter between Christ and Baal.[55] Forbes speaking of this time, says "There was such an humour in the Nation for building of Cathedrals, Monasteries, and Religious houses," that "from the year 1100, the voice of the Gospel could not be heard for the noise of hammers and trowels." At that time "religion was regarded as an art, taught as a mystery, and practised as a trade." "The emissaries of Rome," we are told, "having gained upon the easy mind of King David, a Legate from Pope Innocent II. was received in Scotland in the year 1138, with a great deal of ceremony and respect; after

54 An enlightenment sullied by the repulsive formula known as the worship of Priapus, a disgusting compound of devotion and depravity, too revolting to be discussed in any treatise accessible to the general reader. This custom, which was practised by the Greeks, reaches back to the clouds and shadows of Egyptian civilization.

55 "A strange religion never at once eradicates its predecessor. It leaves much, something it incorporates with itself."—*Oxford Prize Essay.*

which time Prelates began to get up their heads among us, and drive us to superstition and idolatry." "Monachism," Cosmo Innes says, "was then in the ascendant in all Europe. The militia of the Papal power, the well disciplined bands of 'regulars' were already fighting the battle of Roman supremacy everywhere, and each succeeding year saw new orders of monks spreading over Europe, and drawing public sympathy by some new and more rigorous act of self immolation. The passion or the policy of David I. for founding monasteries was followed by his subjects with amazing zeal."[56] "This, was the era of those enthusiastic fraternities for church building which assisted in erecting most of the beautiful Churches of Europe, and which undoubtedly bestowed that singular conformity which characterises the ecclesiastical buildings of the same era during the twelfth and following centuries." (Scotland in the Middle Ages, p. 297).[57] Every

56 Orig. Par. Scot., preface p. xxix, xxx.

57 That the Norman period was pre-eminently *the* era of Church-building in Scotland, is a fact so much known that it needs scarcely to be told here; but it is curious to be met at the very outset of our investigation by so copious an illustration of it in the numerical superiority of remains in the Norman style, over those in any one of the other styles which followed. Indeed, the number of churches then

circumstance goes to prove that at this period the people of Scotland were essentially Scandinavian, and so it may reasonably be presumed were the native priesthood—I mean native-born of Norse descent, who no doubt derived their knowledge of art from the priests and other emissaries of the Roman Pontiff who came to settle in the British Islands. Who were the actual craftsmen or sculptors, whether monks or members of Freemason guilds,* I do not pretend to say. It is not essential to my purpose. Mechanical employments, it is well known, were not inconsistent with learning, or accounted de-

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erected must have been enormous; everywhere traces of them come in our way, and almost every district has its one, or two, or more, not greatly dilapidated churches to shew, though it is in the south-eastern counties where, as might be anticipated, the finer and better preserved specimens prevail."—*Muirs Characteristics, Edin.* 1861, *p.* 4.

* Those wandering bands skilled in handicrafts, who scarcely fall within the province of historical enquiry. Mr. Browne thinks it "reasonable to suppose that the development of the art formed the study of the monastic scribe, and of the monastic stone-cutter at the same time, and that when a memorial cross was required, the writing room of the monastery provided a pattern suitable for the bolder work of the brother who wrought in the stone shed."—*Early sculptured stones in England, by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.* (*Cassell's Art Magazine, Dec.* 1884). Canon Taylor dissents from this view of the case. He thinks it "impossible to believe" [why *impossible* I hardly know] that the ornamentation of the sculptured crosses "was invented by scribes and stone masons." He speaks of the stone work of the "Celtic church," no doubt in allusion to the doings of that wonderful race of men, who though, according to the oracular teaching of a recent writer,

rogatory. One thing is certain, that many of the masons, and most of their marks, were undoubtedly Scandinavian. If anyone doubts this, let him examine the illustrations to the paper on mason-marks by the late Dr. J. A. Smith, printed at page 548, Vol. IV. of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. In most, or in very many instances, these highly ornate monoliths are found in some sort of connection with ancient ecclesiastical edifices or their former sites; and, architecturally considered, are in general nothing more than the reflex of the structures which they originally

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they lived in beehive houses built of unhewn and uncemented stones, and worshipped in churches scarcely more ornate, were nevertheless cultured in art, and wrote "manuscript volumes with a faultless regularity, rivalling the best caligraphy of the most literary nations, which they adorned. [The MSS. I presume] with illuminations of exquisite beauty" &c. That amid this profusion of art and elegance the Celtic tribes of North Britain made no attempt to improve their own dwellings is an incident which stands in need of some explanation. "The grounds upon which Hume finally decided against the authenticity of the *Poems of Ossian*, was the impossibility of any man of sense imagining that they should have been orally preserved 'during fifty generations, by *the rudest, perhaps of all European nations; the most necessitous, the most turbulent, and the most unsettled.*'" Such is the historian Hume's account of Scottish civilization, as stated by the *Edinburgh Review*.

The Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages, by George Wallace, Advocate, F.R.S.E., Edin., 1785.

surrounded. The same idea seems to have occurred to the writer of the Statistical Account of the Parish of Logierait, who regards them as "rude samples of the Popish rage for sculpture, being always found in connection with the ruins of chapels." In this parish are evident traces of a Northern population, the name itself, *Logierait*, being the *Lagbierget* or Law-mount of the ancient Scandinavians. Cosmo Innes says of the sculptured stones, "We can nearly limit their production to the eighth and ninth centuries," which is probably as authentic as his chronological estimate of the MS. which relates to the Abbey of Deir. If we except what is Roman, and the circular stone towers erected by the Norwegians, there is nothing in the British islands of an architectural character of a date anterior to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. "Wander wherever we choose," Muir says, "we see no ecclesiastical buildings to which a date can be confidently given more ancient than those of the Norman period."[58] "The character of the architecture

58 "To that period it will be well at once to turn, as the only proper starting point of our proposed enquiry into the characteristics of Scotch church architecture during the several stages of its short and chequered existence."—*Ibid.*

of the Anglo-Saxons," Parker tells us, "has not yet been fully ascertained, neither is it decided whether any specimens of their work still remain. It is contended by some antiquaries that several of our churches exhibit specimens of Saxon masonry; the truth of this theory however is not fully established, nor has the subject of Saxon architecture been yet sufficiently investigated to clear away the obscurity in which it is involved. In treating of this subject," he says, "it must be needless, at the present day, to refer to the theories of the antiquaries of the last century, which were founded on little else than their own preconceived ideas of what Saxon architecture ought to be." Sir C. Anderson in his *Eight Weeks Journal in Norway*, says, "It is probable that buildings attributed to the Saxons, on the eastern side of England, are the works of the Scandinavians." The inference from all this is that Saxon architecture, like Celtic civilization, is absolutely without foundation.

Another Celtic bugbear which has puzzled and bewildered the antiquary is the "Round Tower." The more remarkable Scotch examples are those of Egilsay, Brechin, and Abernethy. The last two have been measured and figured

and described times without number. The Church and tower of Egilsay are figured in Hibbert in a complete form, and are exhibited in a ruined state in Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. There are, I believe, seventy-six of these towers known to exist in Ireland. Parker says, "In some parts of the kingdom circular church towers are to be found; these have been sometimes assumed to be of very high antiquity, but the character of their architecture shows that they belong to the Norman and early English styles." He considers the round towers found in some churchyards in Ireland monumental erections. The age of these buildings, he says, "is undetermined, and is likely to remain so." According to another writer, "the whole period of this type of round tower structure lies between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the twelfth century." I do not think there need be much difficulty in assigning all the Scotch examples mentioned, to a period certainly not more remote than the beginning of the twelfth century, that is, from the year 1100 downwards.[59] The archi-

[59] I confess I hardly appreciate Sir G. Scott's difficulty in assigning the tower of St. Regulus to the twelfth century. We seem to descend to the bottom of a well to bring up what is lying on the surface.

tectural decoration of the Brechin tower is conclusive on this point. The use or purpose of these erections, as shown in the palpably Scandinavian example of Egilsay, is plainly that of church towers, from which the other portions of the structure have been removed. The Brechin tower stands in the churchyard. One of the figures in relief on the doorway of this example bears a pastoral staff of the form, we are told, "peculiar to the early Celtic church," and, as I think, also peculiar to an Egyptian mummy-case in the Antiquaries Museum, which for anything I know, may be that of one of the Hycsos, or shepherd kings, who, according to tradition, once made the conquest of Egypt. I shall be glad to know where staves of the early Celtic church are to be found. I have never met with one, and do not know where to look for them. The origin of the pastoral staff has, with much probability, been traced to the lituus of the priesthood of Pagan Rome, who probably derived it mediately through the Greeks from the ancient Egyptians.[8]

8 This pagan symbol of priestly domination bids fair to be perpetuated in the modern practice of the English church. Not long since the Archbishop of Canterbury* was presented with a staff, such as in

* Dr. Benson, formerly master of Wellington College, afterwards

The most remarkable object of this kind which has been connected with the mythical "Celtic church" is the reputed crosier of *St.*

mediæval times was used by the Romish Priesthood. This is described as "a magnificent Archiepiscopal cross, richly jewelled with sapphires, pearls and diamonds." It was stated in the public prints that the Bishop of Lincoln lately officiated at a marriage ceremony robed and mitred, and attired in the paraphernalia of the Papal hierarchy, which shows what things are now possible. Pomp and circumstance, and human pride cannot be of the essence of that religion of which its author has emphatically declared "my kingdom is not of this world." We live in an age when the mummeries of the priesthood are mistaken for the manifestations of a spiritual life. I do not object to contemplate such objects as the memorials of a bygone superstition, but not as the symbols of a living faith. They are inimical to the spirit of a Protestant church, and as much out of place among its accessories as would be the jewel-set apron of the blacksmith Gavah, the palladium of the ancient Persian Empire. "With some minds," Dean Ramsay says, "attachment to the Church is attachment to her Gregorian tones, jewelled chalices, lighted candles, embroidered altar-cloths, silver crosses, processions, copes, albs, and chasubles," Archdeacon Farrar, exclaiming against the Romanising influences within her pale, and "all sorts of mediæval accretions," which so far as he can find "have amazingly little resemblance to the Gospel of Christ," may well say, "I cannot look to the spread and dominance of those views for that deliverance, for that new reformation which this age so imperatively needs." "In all ages," he says, "the exclusive predomi-

Bishop of Truro. He was promoted to the See of Canterbury by the second Gladstone Administration—that unhappy Administration which dragged the honour of the British nation through the mire. In Croker's *Correspondence and Diaries* (2nd Edit., 1885, Vol. III. p. 90.) the following remarks about W. E. Gladstone occur in a letter dated Dec. 16th, 1846, from J. G. Lockhart to Mr. Croker: "H. B." [Lord Brougham] "and A. [Lord Ashburton] also both concurred that Gladstone is incapacitated for a leading place by his zeal in Ultra Economics, and by his Puseyite mania, but even more by the Jesuitical structure of his mind."

Fillan, an anchorite who, despite the admonition of Barham, I venture to describe as an apochryphal saint.[59] His legend is found in the Breviary of Aberdeen. It is stated that he lived in the

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nance of priests has meant the indifference of the majority and the subjection of the few. It has meant the slavery of men who will not act, and the indolence of men who will not think, and the timidity of men who will not resist, and the indifference of men who do not care." "When they rely on pomp and dogma and supernatural professions, priests have ever been the opponents of science, the opponents of freedom, the misrepresenters of scripture, the corrupters of doctrine, the tyrants over the free consciences of men."

59 "Don't meddle with Saints!—for you'll find if you do
They're what Scotch people call 'kittle cattle to shoe.'" (*Ingoldsby Legends.*) Saints are the peculiar property of that section of the English Church which deals in the Romish dogma of Apostolic succession, which lowers its voice at that part of the Apostles' Creed (descendit ad inferna*) which, disregarding the ubiquity of the Omniscient (*semper et semper ubique et omnibus*) looks for his presence at the east end of an ordinary church structure, and which regards the Church of Christ and the Church of England as convertible terms. It was only lately that an English Church functionary, called the Dean of Lincoln,† stated in the Lower House of Convocation that Presbyterians and Nonconformists were not members of the Church of Christ, precisely the same opinion which the Church of Rome holds of the Dean of Lincoln, inasmuch as that while the Church of England recognizes the ordination of the Church of Rome, the Church of Rome does not recognize the ordination of the Church of England. I fear I have but little reverence for Saints in the extreme Church sense, and not much for the opinions of those who constantly bring them into prominence.

* "Ad inferos," it has it, implying some doctrinal difference.

† Dr. Butler, who must not be confounded with the Master of Trinity, formerly Master of Harrow School.

early part of the eighth century and founded a church or monastery, where,

> "As chroniclers tell, he continued to dwell
> All the rest of his days in the Abbey he'd founded."

The so-named crosier of Saint Fillan was called the *Coygerach* or *Quigrich*, which, Dr. Reeves says, is a modification of the Erse word *Coigreach* with the significance of "stranger," whatever that explains in connection with a pastoral staff. Its hereditary keepers were the members of a family named Jore or Doire, our modern Dewar, a species of sheriff's officer or messenger-at-arms, whose function, under shadow and authority of the King and the Abbot of Glendochart, was to track out the hidden receivers of stolen cattle and compel restitution of pilfered chattels. The name Dewar, we are told, means *belman*, from which it may be inferred that the Jore of the Coygerach, in the manner of the not yet extinct town-crier of our own era, bore with him in his incursions, in the one hand the *bell* of St. Fillan and in the other his *crook*—the one to summon, the other to adjure.

According to an expounder of Celtic art the

older or inside crosier[60] has been stripped of its filigree ornaments which have been placed on the outer case or covering of the inside relic. The same writer informs us, but disdains everything in the character of *evidence*, that the so-named Celtic church had its buildings, its books and its crosses, all of them of types peculiar to itself, that is, like the church to which they belonged, they never had an existence save in the imagination of the "Celtomaniacs" of the nineteenth century, those collectors of old rubbish which has been floated down on the currents of time. The extravagant pretensions set forth on behalf of this instrument of superstitious reverence were ridiculed—not without reason—in the pages of the *Scotsman* newspaper, about the time of its return to this country. One of the later Dewars, reduced to poverty, emigrated with his charge to the Dominion of Canada, and it was recovered from his heirs for a sum of money through the intervention of Sir Daniel Wilson of "Prehistoric" celebrity. Its existence was first notified to the

[60] It is affirmed that the term *Crosier*, being, as some suppose, derived from the Latin *crux*, *crucis* a cross, should be limited to the archiepiscopal staff. It seems more probably cognate with Danish *kroe*, Icelandic *krao*, a crook, another name for the same thing. Gothic *krok*, Saxon *cruce*, anything curved. Ital. *croccia*.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by an Oxford undergraduate who found it in the possession of its custodian at Killin in 1782. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the ornamention of the crosier or crook of St. Fillan, so called, has about as much connection with *Celtic art*, whatever that may mean, or with any religious foundation which existed in Scotland before the 12th century, as with the phantasmagoria of the kaleidoscope, the belief of the ancients in the Divine inspiration of Homer, or the authenticity of Ossian's poems. The *bell* of St. Fillan is said to have lain for generations on a tombstone in the churchyard. It was stolen in 1798 by an "English gentleman," then resident in Hertfordshire, whose gentility had not taught him to distinguish between other people's property and his own. He made an entry of the theft in his diary, which seventy-one years later led to its identification. A superstition connected with this bell was, that wherever removed it returned on the following morning to a particular spot in the churchyard. The perpetrator of this petty act of larceny—some people would call it sacrilege—sought to excuse himself on the ground that he wished to test "the truth or falsehood" of a

statement which he himself mentions as a "ridiculous story." I daresay the real motive was one of vulgar brag to be able to show the bell, and suggest the discomfiture of the simple natives. "The late Bishop of Brechin," it appears, "gives an untenable explanation of the ornamental ending of the handle of St. Fillan's bell." He connects this with "a form of pagan worship of the existence of which among the Celtic tribes there is no evidence.*

Presbyterian Scotland, it may be premised, has no "Bishop of Brechin." The person referred to is probably Bishop Forbes of the Scotch Episcopal Church, who knew just as much and no more of the Celtic tribes as the objector. "Of the Celtic monastery in Glendochart," to which the bell belonged, we are told, "there remains no vestige!" It would be strange indeed to find vestiges of a structure that never existed. It is abundantly evident to all who have impartially examined the subject that there exists not in all Scotland any ecclesiastical remains which date beyond the reign of David I. Of the converse, except the legends of the Saints, there is not a tittle of *evidence*. "It is

* In the twelfth century the Church of Rome had relapsed to Paganism. The connection of this bell with the Celtic tribes is a dream.

only in Britain," Macaulay says, "that an age of fable separates two ages of truth."

The bell of St. Fillan, it should be stated, is a quadrangular casting of bronze about 12 inches high, measuring 9 inches by 6 at the mouth, and is nearly of the same shape as the bells formed of malleated sheet iron coated with bronze, and held together with rivets. Bells of this character according to their modern expounders, had a great many pious uses in the fabulous ages to which they are assigned, the purely ideal era of what has been gratuitously termed "The Early Celtic Church." They are obviously all of them survivals of the Roman Church introduced into Scotland in the beginning of the twelfth century by the priest-ridden David. Some of them, as the bell found by Dr. Trail, in the Broch of Burrian, a ruined stone tower of Norwegian construction, were simply the instruments of Roman ritual tinkled by the acolyte who stood behind the officiating priest at the moment of the elevation of the Host. They differ, we are told, in all their features from the cast metal bells of circular type, which we are requested to believe "have been in use continuously from the twelfth century to the present day." That no other

type of bell was used in the Roman Church of the twelfth and succeeding centuries is a statement which we have no means of knowing to be true, and one which there is every reason to doubt. I find no evidence that bells of the quadrangular type "belonged to a period prior to the twelfth century," and nothing to the contrary has been demonstrated. Until this is done we need not trouble ourselves to enquire whether they are "a principal group or a derived group," or any other conjectural impossibility in relation to the mythical Celtic Church. It is surprising that a mind in the possession of its faculties should waste its ingenuity in formulating elaborate theories which to the eye of practical sense are "as visionary as the shadows in Banquo's glass."

A legend which relates to an ancient bell preserved at the Church of Birnie in Morayshire, ascribes it to the first Bishop of Moray who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, and who brought it with him from Rome. The portion of the legend which assigns the bell to the "first Bishop" we are permitted to accept, the other which connects it with the ascertained Bishop of Moray of the twelfth century must however be discarded. The reason is, there

were "Bishops in Moray" five centuries before. To admit its connection with the Roman Bishop of the 12th century would be to contradict the preconceived idea of an "Early Celtic Church," that portion of the legend must therefore be omitted, hence this *ignotum per ignotius* form of argument which reduced to its simple elements means pure fable. According to my notions of evidence one of two alternatives is open to us, either to accept the legend without reservation or reject it altogether. The Roman Church of the twelfth century is an ascertained fact within the period of authentic record, the doctrine of a Celtic Church five centuries earlier is the outcome of a perverted imagination, an ideal institution for which there is no solid ground, either from statute, from history, or from record, nor has anything relating to it been accurately deduced from premises properly established.

Cosmo Innes in a postscript to his *Scotland in the Middle Ages* refers to the MS. of the Gospels discovered in the library at Cambridge, which purports to have belonged to the Abbey of Deir in Buchan.[62] "The discovery of this

[62] An imperfect copy of the Gospels in the Latin of the Vulgate, the only received version in the Roman Catholic Church. The Vulgate was first printed in 1462.

book," he says, "sets the whole discussion which excited the Scotch Antiquaries of the last century on an entirely new footing," and so, as I think, do the MS. Gospels, with *Celtic knot-work* found in Abyssinia.[63] On the margins and blank vellum of the Book of Deir, Professor Innes informs us, are entries of high antiquity, reaching to a period of history which neither charter nor chronicle among us touches, and of which we have hitherto had only a few glimpses from the older lives of the saints. The entries, he says, are in a Celtic dialect and run as follows:—"Columkille and Drostan, son of Cosgrech, his disciple, came from Hy, and Bede, a Piet, was then Mormaer of Buchan," &c. An

63 Celtic expositors are not agreeed as to what constitutes Celtic art. Professor Boyd Dawkins, while maintaining the Celticism of the *spiral ornament* denies that interlaced knot work has any connection with Celtic art. Here are his *ipsissima verba*. "The interlacing pattern" "may be traced far and wide over Europe, and among warriors who owe nothing to Irish art. It occurs on articles proved by the associated remains to be Germanic or Teutonic. In Britain it is the ruling design in Anglian and Saxon finds in cemeteries and barrows—such as that recently explored at Taplow. In France it is associated with the remains of the German invaders. It has been met with both in Switzerland and Italy, and generally on the Continent in those regions into which the Germanic tribes penetrated. It does not occur in France or the British Isles in association with any remains of a date before the German tribes had begun to move to the attack of the Roman Empire. From these facts, we may conclude that it is distinctly Germanic or Teutonic, and not 'Celtic,' and still less 'pure Irish.'"

imperfect note of benefactions, we are told, gives the names "Colban, Mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait his married wife, and the 'Clan Magan.'" In this MS. occur such names as "Garnait, son of Cannoc," "Eta daughter of Gillemichel," "Donead son of Mac Bead," "Malbrigte son of Chathail," "Malcoluim son of Culeon," "Culii," "Giric," "Raudre," "Cormac the Abbot," &c. Two charters of Marjory, Countess of Buchan, are witnessed by "Magnus, son of Earl Colban, and Adam, son of Earl Fergus," none of all which names are other than Gothic, Danish or Norwegian. Melbrigd was the name of the Norwegian owner of the "Hunterston Brooch." It is also found in the Pictish Chronicle, A.D. 965. Worsaae at page 260 of his *Danes and Norwegians*, &c., gives an account of a person called "Jarl Melbrigd." A form of the name Malcolm occurs on the Kirkmichael stone, in Man. Culeon and Culii are explained by the Norse personal name *Koli* and Danish definite article *en*, Giric, by *Kœrik*, and Raudre by *Raudr*. Gillemichel by the names *Göll* and *Mikell*. Cormac, by Kormak, a Skald of the tenth century, the writer of one of the Sagas. With Drostan compare the Teutonic name Droosten. Celtic expositors find

this on the St. Vigeans stone. Mr. Ralph Carr, however, explains that the inscription is Scoto-Saxon, and the characters mediæval Romanesque. The language, he says, belongs to a late period. He reads the inscription: "Kin stone (family monument) put over honoured kith." If this be the correct reading (which there seems little reason to doubt) the Drostans and Ferguses of the Celtic expositors resolve themselves into figment.[64] Bede is the name of the Saxon historian and the Danish word to pray. Colben is identical with the Norwegian personal name *Kolbein*. In the twelfth century Kolbein Ruga had a settlement in the isle of Wire (Vigr) Orkney. The name "Tholf *Kolbain*son" is found in a Runic inscription carved on the Norwegian structure of Maeshowe. An old Norse Skald named

64 The following occurs in a letter dated North Berwick, December 12th 1866, which appeared in the *Scotsman* of December 14th of the same year, in reference to the inscribed stone at St. Vigeans:—"If I be not utterly mistaken, this is a beautifully simple yet stately old epitaph. I regret that I cannot render one word in it by any better expression than our somewhat trivial participle *put*, unless the reader will himself substitute the old English *pight*, or old Scottish *pycht*, in the sense of pitched, fixed or erected, as the twelve stones were 'pitched' by Joshua in Gilgal. My reading or rendering was this;—

Kin stone (Family monument.)
put over
honoured
Kith."—R. Carr., F.S.A. Scot. (see also his paper to the Scotch Antiquaries of the date indicated.)

Thord *Kolbein*son was contemporary with the famous Snorro Sturlesen. "One of the followers of St. David between the years 1119 and 1124 bore the name *Colban*." Thomas of *Colbainistun* is witness to a charter of King William the Lion between the years 1187 and 1189. Compare the topographical names, *Colbaynistun* Lanarkshire, *Kollieben* hill in Sutherland and *Kolbein*stad in Iceland. *Garnait* is cognate with the Anglo-Norse Lancashire surname Garnet. Aberdover, another name found in the MS., is *Aber* an old Gothic word cognate with the German Ober, Über, over or beyond. *Dover* identical with the Norwegian town *Dovre*, and mountain range called Dovra fjeld. There is *Dover* in Jutland, and *Dover* on the English coast, derived from the Scandinavian. "Mac, Map or Mab," is quoted as the Gaelic, Cymric and Cornish word for *son*. With equal propriety might be cited as Cymric and Celtic the reputed Welsh word *jarll*, a noble or earl, which is Gothic and Scandinavian. Certainly the Celticism of the Book of Deir cannot be inferred from the patronymic prefix *Mac*, placed before several of the names which it contains. This word in the sense of son was used by the Danes and Northmen. "Fergus

Mac Olaf," and "Sytrig *Mac* Olave" were respectively Norwegian and Danish Kings of Dublin. "*Mac*-manus or Magnusön," a Norwegian jarl, was chosen Governor of Man. Cormac-mac-Cullinan, bishop of Cashel was King of the Norwegian province of Munster in the beginning of the tenth century. Among four Danish prelates next in succession to St. Brandon was one in 1077, called "Aumond *Mac* Olive." The term is found prefixed to such obviously Scandinavian names as *Mac* Swein, *Mac* Vicar, *Mac* Connel, *Mac* Arkil, *Mac* Gill, *Mac* Duff, *Mac* Cormack, *Mac* Luckie, *Mac* Michael, *Mac* Otter, *Mac* Finn, *Mac* Oleif, *Mac* Friar, *Mac* Alister, *Mac* Craken, *Mac* Tyr, *Mac* Tier, *Mac* Haffie, *Mac* Wattie, *Mac* Vitie, *Mac* Queen, *Mac* Ewen, *Mac* Aulay, *Mac* Coll, *Mac* Hood, *Mag* uire, *Mac* Iver, *Mac* Rae, *Mac* Rannal, *Mac* Corry, *Mac* Curry, *Mac* Bovy, *Mac* Scaly, and a host of others in which are found the Scandinavian personal names Sveinn, Vikar, Konall, Arnkell, Göll, Duf-r,[65] Kormac, Loki, Mikell, Ottar, Finn-r, Olaf, Freyr, Ali, (and ster) Kraka, Thor, Haf-r, Hvati, Ion, Ali,

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65 The *r* final separated by a hyphen in this and in two succeeding names is no part of the name itself but merely the sign of the nominative case.

Kol, Húd, Vigr, Ivar, Hrói, Ragnvald, Kóri, Bui, and Skali. *Mac*, a son, is the Gothic *Maug*, Teutonic *Mag Mac*, Su-Gothic and Icelandic *Make* Danish *Mage*, Anglo-Saxon *Mæg*, *Mecg*, son, kinsman; and correlative *Mægð*, tribe, kindred, generation. Gothic *Mæg*, a relation, *Magi*, an embryo; Saxon *Mægth*, progeny, race, tribe; Gothic *Maga*, to beget. What Beza in his translation renders *puer* is given in the Gothic version *Magus*. In the old Dutch language *Maegh*, *Mage*, "ofte bloedt vriendt," means kindred, parentage, allies, or consanguinity. *Maeg-sibbe* in that language signifies kinsmen or allies; cognate with this is the lowland Scotch word *sib*, akin, related. The term *Mack*, with the significance of "Race, lineage, species," occurs in the Anglo-Norse dialect of Craven, West Riding of York,[66] and is found in the obsolete Gothic inscriptions of the Ogham stones in the form of *Maqui*, which disciples of the Celtic craze grotesquely term *Celtic*.

Cosmo Innes says, in his *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, that "Maormor—the great maor—is an ancient title among the Celts, found in misty and hardly historical Irish annals, but now made

[66] *The Dialect of Craven by the Rev. Wm. Carr B.D. London*, 1828.

Scotch history by the Book of Deir." I think this is found in the annals of Ulster, but need scarcely add that no argument in favour of Celticism can be drawn from any name or circumstance therein recorded. Ulster was one of three out of four Irish provinces which were purely Norwegian.[61½] Ireland was completely overrun by the Norwegians who "were powerful enough to maintain their language, and the rest of their Scandinavian characteristics." "Ancient Irish manuscripts," we are told, "contain proofs not only of the peculiar language, but also of the peculiar writing of the Norwegians, or runes, which in Irish were called 'Ogham na Loochlannach,' or 'Gallogham' (the Northman's or strangers' ogham.") Nor is there much reason to doubt that the so-called *Irish* priests who visited Iceland in the early centuries of our era, were some of the descendants of the earliest Scandi-

61½ "Among the names of places in Ireland which remind us of the Norwegian Dominion, we must in particular specify the names of three of Ireland's four provinces, viz., Ulster, Leinster, and Munster; in all of which is added to the original Irish forms [?] the Scandinavian or Norwegian ending *Stadr*, *ster*. It might even be a question whether the name 'Ireland' did not originally derive this form from the Northmen. The termination *land* is entirely unknown in the Irish language"—*Worsaae*. [I do not think there is much room to doubt. *Frlend-r*, in the old Northern language means *foreigner*, and is found as a Scandinavian personal name. The name *Ulster* is pure Norse, and so doubtless are the other two. Celto-Norse names only exist in the imagination of persons infected with the "Prehistoric" delusion.]

navian settlers. It is impossible to conceive that priests of the race of the Irish Celtæ or aborigines could find their way through the Northern ocean to Iceland.[67] *Mar*, *mer*, *moer*, *meir*, in the Gothic tongue, means much or great, renowned, celebrated, noble. Thompson, in his *Etymons of English Words*, says: "The North American savages nearest to Europe call their great chieftains Saga*more*, which is almost purely Gothic." Professor Innes thinks there is little doubt the Colbens and Ferguses, old Mormaers of Buchan, changed their style to Earl, which from the facts narrated, is abundantly evident, but it is inconceivable that a Celtic Chief would exchange his native style for a foreign title, if indeed a "Celtic Chief" be not a contradiction in terms. The name of the Abbey, according to the legend, was given by "Columcille" when he parted from his friend the mythical "Drostan," whensoever that may have been. It is not however, difficult to believe that this name like those of its surroundings was imposed by the Northmen. "Deir" or "Deer," is found in *Dear*oby, the old name of Derby,

67. We do not know the daring and zealous man who carried Christianity thither. He is said to have been Aurlig, a Norwegian, educated in the Hebrides.—*Scotland in the Middle Ages, p.* 101.

Deerness, in Orkney, *Dere*ham in Norfolk, Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, and Dearham in the North of England. It is a Danish personal name found in the old northern language of the Sagas in the form of *Dyri*. The ancient kingdom of Northumberland, which included the whole of Yorkshire, was divided into two parts. One of these was called *Deira*.

The name *Buchan* and its "*Buller*" are pure Norse. (Bukk-r Norse personal name, and *han ham heim*, an abode). It occurs in Norway in the form of *Buckau*. The phenomenon called the "*Buller*" is explained by the Swedish *buller*, a tumult, from Old Norse *buldra* to roar, whence probably the name of those portions of detached rock called "boulders" found in the water-courses of the mountain torrent. "Buller" in the vernacular, means any big round lump of stone. The circular basin that forms the "Buller," Boswell tells us, is called by the country people the *Pot*. Old Norse *pott-r*, any basin shaped hollow or cavity. Near to this is a rock inhabited by sea fowl, called *dunbui*. Goth. Icel. *dun*. a rock or hill,and Norse personal name *Bui*. "The MS.," Cosmo Innes says, "whether judged from the handwriting or its contents, appears to be of the tenth century." In another

place he says "We cannot assert that it is identical with the Scotch Gælic, for we have no other Scotch Gælic writing within many centuries of its date; yet it was certainly written at Deir," &c. According to a more recent commentator "The form of the writing is that which is common to Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the letters being an adaptation of the Roman minuscule characters," that it is in "the vernacular Gælic of the period," whatever that may mean. The initial letters of paragraphs, as if to contradict its reputed Celticism, are in peculiarly Scandinavian fashion "designed in *fanciful dragonesque forms*. At the end of the book is a rubric giving direction to the officiating priest. Professor Westwood, on the evidence of its "paleographic peculiarities," fixes the date not later than the ninth century, but we are not told where he found the MSS. containing the peculiarities in question with which he compared the Book of Deir, or by what evidence the chronological epoch of the touch-stones has been tested. "The art is poor," we are told, "in comparison with Irish manuscripts of contemporary date." Here again is the everlasting circular reasoning —the perpetual movement of the ball in the hat, revolving and returning to the same point. If

the question is to be determined by an appeal to the primitive speech of the aboriginal Celtæ, it is plain that that language in its native purity must first be found. Meg Dodd's prescription was "first catch the hare and then cook it." Pinkerton, the most scholarly antiquary of his age pointed out long ago that the Gælic language is only an obsolete form of the ancient Gothic, and that so far from being a pure speech it is the most corrupt in the world. The same eminent authority says of the language called Welsh, that even in its most ancient remains it is full of Danish and English words. As to the opinion of "the great philologers of modern times" that "the Celtic and Teutonic are cognate languages,"[68] there is just this to be said,

68 The researches of philology, we are told, have within the present century established such affinities between the Celtic and the Indo-Germanic dialects as to be accounted for only by supposing that the nations speaking them had a common origin, but whoever reflects upon the uncertainties that surround this obscure subject will not build too securely on the deductions of philologers, which after all may be only the conclusions of learned ignorance. Dr. R. Angus Smith* says, "I consider those who hold the nations called Celtic and those called Teutonic as one race, to be simply abolishing the knowledge we get from history, and refusing to look at very clear facts." Men go to the study of language in the manner of a person at midnight with a lighted taper to a sun-dial, and who can make the shadow fall just where he pleases. It is gravely related of the German philologer Zeuss, who to add to the marvel never set foot on Irish soil, that he

* R. Angus Smith, LL.D., F.R.S.

that unless, contrary to all history and probability, it can be shown, (which it obviously cannot), that the languages called Celtic are the

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re-constructed the ancient Irish or Celtic tongue from the literary remains of a thousand years ago which he met with on the continent of Europe. Such feats of human ingenuity are no doubt very wonderful. It would, however, be satisfactory to know that the MSS. found by the learned German were, in point of fact, the survivals of an early Celtic speech, and not merely the residuum of the more archaic dialects of the ancient Gothic. We know that the Goths had a literature. We do *not* know that the Celts had any literary remains. Zeuss is one of three writers, of whom Dr. Latham remarks—he rarely mentions but to differ from them:—"As a set-off against this," he says, "I may add that it is almost wholly by their own weapons that they are combated." Like the earth which we inhabit, their theories contain within themselves the elements of their own destruction. By the language of mathematical analysis, Newton resolved the enigmas of the planetary system. These, by a language intelligible only to themselves, have vainly attempted to reduce fiction to a science, intensifying the darkness that clouds this most obscure of all unintelligible subjects.

Among the vagaries of philological disquisition is the conclusion arrived at by a recent writer, who, "having gone into the whole matter," finds "that English is derived from Hebrew"! "A friend," he says, acutely suggests that the Greek *Naus*, the Latin *Navis*, a ship, and our own *Navy* spring from *Noah"!* an idea which seems to invest with a kind of prophetic significance Lord Byron's satirical pleasantry "*From Captain Noah down to Captain Cook.*" Thus, as Cosmo Innes suggests, every one "blurts out his own crude theory," although the learned historian of *The Middle Ages* is not without some rather crude conceptions of his own. It must, however, be conceded that his, and that of Dr. W. F. Skene, are respectable names among the votaries of Celtic delusion. *Górópius Becanus* endeavours to prove that High-Dutch was the language that Adam and Eve spoke in Paradise, a view held by this worthy in common with the Metropolitan Chapter of Pampeluna in reference to the Basque, who "on this point declare that no doubt can exist" (El Mundo Primitivo—Madrid, 1814—cited by Max Müller). "There is nothing new, saith the wise man under the sun."

several dialects of an unmixed native or purely primeval speech, and that the foundation of these is not, as many scholars have supposed, merely the obsolete linguistic remains of the early Teutonic races who dispossessed the aborigines, no argument whatever can be based on the fact of resemblance; because in the case supposed, save on the one side, their Latin, Gaulish, and English corruptions, the dialects of the British isles, living and extinct, Cornish,[69] English, Scotch, Welsh, Gælic, Manx, must remotely, root and branch, one and all be one and the same. Dr. W. F. Skene has been heralded as "perhaps the highest authority on this subject." No one disputes Dr. Skene's acquaintance with the Erse or Gælic any more than Professor Blackie's acquaintance with Greek, but I should hardly attach more importance to his dictum regarding the ethnology of the Highland or Lowland Scotch, than to the extra-historic speculations of his contemporary concerning the race of the ancient Greeks.[70] He is not the only learned man who for want of common discernment has confounded

[69] The Cornish language, a dialect of the Welsh, became extinct in the middle of the last century.

[70] Who were the aborigines of Greece is one of the questions to which all the acuteness and resources of modern times have sought an answer without arriving at any satisfactory result.

things totally distinct.[71] It has been stated as the popular belief that "the fair or blonde race in the British Isles denotes only a Teutonic ancestry, and that the dark races are the Celts." Hardly anyone, I think, supposes that every individual of the Teutonic race was blonde or fair or red-haired. On the contrary, we know that many of the Danes and Northmen were black, and the Danes were not Celts. "Nothing," Dr. G. Campbell says, "is so little certain as the source and permanency of human colour." Mr. Hyde Clarke, remarking on the utterances of Professor Huxley, says that although the latter "had laid down his statements as established by the concurrence of men of science, there was very little

71 Too much importance is not to be attached to the merely speculative opinions of individuals conventionally reputed learned. A man may possess the tools to work without the power to apply them. It not unfrequently happens that the limits of our knowledge are extended by men of less erudition, but with juster perceptions of truth. Of this kind was Fergusson, the author of *Rude Stone Monuments*, who himself truly remarks, that "The veriest cripple who progresses in the right direction will beat the strongest pedestrian who chooses a wrong path." The writer of a biographical sketch of Fergusson, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, refers to "His rare powers of philosophical thought," how acquired, he says, "It is now difficult to ascertain." A philosophical mind is the gift of God, and cannot be acquired. "To reason well," says Sir Benjamin Brodie, "is the result of an instinct originally implanted in us rather than of instruction; and a child or a peasant reasons quite as accurately on the thing before him, and within the sphere of his knowledge, as those who have gone deep into the study of logic as a science."

[he might have said *nothing*] capable of proof." We cannot, therefore, be too careful how we admit mere dogma into the category of accepted fact. "Evidence," Professor Huxley says, "may be adduced to show that the language spoken by both these types of people in Britain (the dark and the blonde), at or before the Roman conquest, was exclusively Celtic." This evidence, he tells us, "is furnished by the statements of Cæsar," and "by the testimony of ancient monuments and local names." As a question of fact Cæsar makes no such statement, either directly, or by implication. In regard to the monuments, inscriptions called "Ogham," and the like, wherever it has been possible to bring these to the test of competent scholarship, such have invariably proved to be Gothic or Teutonic. The topography of the West of Scotland and the Isles and indeed generally throughout the whole extent of North Britain, it is patent to anyone at all versed in the subject, is palpably Norse.[72] In the view of Professor Huxley: "The Saxon invaders brought with them their Teutonic

72 "The preponderance of the direct Scandinavian element in the language itself has been shown by Dean Trench, who states that, of a hundred English words sixty come from the Scandinavian, thirty from the Latin, five from the Greek, and five from other sources."—*Our Scandinavian Ancestors, Good Words, Vol. 1., No.* 18.

dialects, and these to a great extent supplanted the pre-existing Celtic." We learn on better authority, that of the late J. M. Kemble, that "the received accounts of the Saxon immigration, and subsequent fortunes and ultimate settlement, are devoid of historical truth in every detail."[73] It is nearly certain that the displacement of the original British began long before, and continued without intermission on to and beyond the period of Roman occupation. Professor Huxley told his auditory he could drive a waggon from the dikes of Holland to the wall of China, without meeting with a single interruption; which was met by the retort of the *Saturday Reviewer*, that he could drive his pen from beginning to end through every line of Professor Huxley's lecture without meeting with a single *fact*.

Bodichon divides the Celts into Gælic, Belgic, and Cymbric, while Cæsar states distinctly that the Belgæ were Germans.[74] Thus the testimony

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73. "Who the Saxons were, or when they arrived, or where they settled, is a subject on which tradition is entirely silent, for of written history there is none."—*The Anglo-Cimbri and Teutonic Races, by James Rankin, F.R.A.S., Lond.* 1871.

74 "Belgas esse ortos a Germanis," that is, sprung from the Germans. In other words that they were Germans.—*Cæsar Lib. II. C.* 4. My early preceptor, Mr. J. B. Lindsay, the well-known astronomer and electrician—a man of genius, and skilled in every department of physical science—discoursing on the methods of deter-

of the Roman historian is confronted with the deductions of the collectors of old bones, whose vague and uncertain speculations have been dignified with the high sounding title of "Ethnological science."[75]

As to the extinction of what has been called "the old blood," we have the argument of analogy from the case of the red man, the Maori, the Kaffir, and the native Tasmanian, which we

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mining the authenticity of historic documents, says of the Commentaries of Cæsar, "The localities are so minutely described, and the accuracy of which, even now, we may easily convince ourselves, that in the judgment of all sound critics the writer described what he saw, and that the book cannot be a forgery."—*The Chrono-Astrolabe, Dundee*, 1858, *p.* 10.

75 Mr. Farrar excavated a sand-hill at Bersay, in Orkney, and found we are told, human remains of all ages. The skulls, it is said, were submitted to Dr. Thurnam, one of the authors of *Crania Britannica*, "who had no hesitation in referring them to the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Orkney, and as little doubt that they were of a period prior to the Norwegian invasions, and settlement of the islands in the ninth century." If dogmatic assertion be among the evidences of scientific acumen, there is no lack of this among the expounders of the Celtic myth. Arbitrary decisions of this kind in reference to mere matters of *opinion* are only to be mentioned to be held up to ridicule. An interment consisting of a skeleton "preserved by tanning, and converted to the colour of ink," was found at *Gristhorpe*, near *Scarborough*, in 1834, inclosed in a log coffin formed of an oak trunk. Dr. Daniel Wilson, true to his instincts, calls this an "undoubtedly British tumulus," which, taken in connection with the place-names, the perforation in the bottom of the coffin, the size and form of the skull, the length of the skeleton (6ft. 2in.), the presence of a bronze weapon, and with the circumstance that a similar interment was found at Bolderup, in Scandinavia, is, to say the least, highly improbable

see going on before our own eyes; and the authority at least of the historian of *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, who holds it as a fact incontrovertible "the slow retreat and gradual disappearance of an inferior race."[76]

Like most early Scotch remains of an ecclesiastical character, the Book of Deer may with some probability be referred to the twelfth century. The legends it contains, which relate to Celtic foundations "centuries before," must be discarded as so much fable. The oldest Scotch writing extant is a charter by King Duncan in 1095. This consists of a grant to the Monks of St. Cuthbert. From the twelfth century we have charters of all the Scotch kings in an unbroken series.[77] Mr. Cosmo Innes, in regard to the

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76 "The tribes for whom Elliot's Indian Bible was intended are all gone; their language is dead, and not a drop of their blood flows in the veins of any human being, and the only history of the former inhabitants of that immense continent is just this—they have perished." The same writer says, "Whatever number of separate races may have existed in remote times in the British Isles, all must have been subjected to the same unaccountable law of mortality that causes the aboriginals of every land the Anglo-Saxon colonises to die out."—*The Anglo-Cimbri and Teutonic Races*, by *James Rankin, F.R.A.S. Lond.*, 1871.

77 "If we except a few marginal entries in Gaelic [?] in the *Book of Deir*—an imperfect copy of the Gospels in the Latin of the Vulgate; which entries are believed to belong to the tenth century. With this exception [which is not an exception] the oldest Scotch writing that is now extant, is a charter granted to the monks of Durham,

Northmen, can find no evidence of their colonizing in the tenth century beyond their known and recognized earldoms of Orkney and Caithness, including Sutherland.[78] At the same

by King Duncan II., the illegitimate son of Malcolm Canmore, whose short and troubled reign came to a tragic close in 1095. And even the authenticity of this charter has not escaped suspicion, although in the opinion of the best judges, such suspicion is without foundation.* The earliest unquestioned documents, are five charters which were granted by King Edgar, the successor of Duncan, who reigned from about 1097 to 1106; these being on all hands conceded as genuine, and as belonging to the period to which they refer." *The Haigs of Bemmersyde by John Russell Edinr.* 1881, *p.* 18). The *Chronica de Mailros*, written in the 13th century is "the most ancient Scotch writing of the nature of continuous history that is now extant." In regard to charters the same general character pertains to all those granted by the Scottish Monarchs during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. "Bits of parchment," says a reviewer in the *Edinburgh* "one inch in breadth, and only a very few inches in length, were enough to convey great Earldoms and Baronies in the days of David I. The whole valley of Douglas, sixteen miles in length, from Tinto to Cairntable, was conveyed to the good and brave Sir James Douglas by King Robert the Bruce, in a charter of not much larger dimensions."

* This charter is printed in fac-simile in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ No. 4: and in the National MSS. of Scotland*, Part I., No. 2.

78 It is a curious commentary on this form of negation that he tells us, "The witnesses to the charter of Duncan are Aceard, Ulf, Hermer, Ælfric, Hemming, Teodbald, Vinget, Earnulf, and Grenton the scribe, apparently all Saxon or Danish." "A charter of his brother Edgar, free "from all suspicion of forgery" he says, gives the following witnesses: Ælfwin, Oter, and Thor the long, and Aelfric the steward, and Algar the priest, and Osbern the priest, and Cnut, Carl, and Ogga, and Lesing, and Swein son of Ulfkill, and Ligulf of Bamburgh, and Uhtred, Elav's son, and Unixt hwite, and Tigerne,—in all which list we do not find a name, unless perhaps the last, which the most zealous Celt can claim for a countryman.* To

* Which was the *country* of the Celts? I presume e meant kinsman.

time he admits "a long dark period" from the time of Bede to the middle of the tenth century. In the middle space, he tells us, the Scots and Picts were united under Kenneth MacAlpine, and that from this time the name of Picts as a nation disappears from history. I can only conjecture that the name *Scotland* arose out of the fact that, in the middle space to which he refers, the greater part of what is now so designated had been subdued, and, as was their practice in such cases, laid under tribute by the Northmen, who had obtained the mastery over the Pictish people then inhabiting the northern division of this kingdom, and who, though long settled there, were of the same race with their invaders. The petty kingdoms of England under

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a list of other names, he adds "These were all Norman," "But," he continues, "there were not wanting settlers whose names speak their Saxon and Danish blood. Such were Alwin fitz Arkil," the progenitor of the race of Lennox; Swain and Thor, the ancestors of the Ruthvens; Ogga and Leising; Osolf, Maccus, the original of the Maxwells; Orm, Leving and Dodin, who have given their names to Ormiston, Levingston, and Dudingston; Elfin, Edulf and Edmund, whose names remain in Elphinston, Edilston and Edmunston, and many others (*Scotland in the Middle Ages, pp.* 88. 89.) It is hardly necessary to explain that all the names here given are Gothic or Scandinavian. In 1088 a person named *Tighernach* wrote the annals of Ireland but that he was a *Celt* is a gratuitous assumption. The variety of this name which occurs in Professor Innes's list suggests an opposite conclusion. It is a recognised truism that a man is known by the company he keeps.

the Heptarchy were often subjected to the yoke of the Danish invaders, and it is hardly to be supposed the inhabitants of North Britain were exempt from their incursions. *Skotland* in the ancient Gothic, and *Skautland* in the Icelandic tongue, mean land laid under tribute, from Gothic *Skeda*, to divide. The name seems to have some connection with Gothic *Skiota*, Icelandic *Skuta*, which in one of the senses of those words, means to evade, eject, expel, &c. There is a hamlet called *Scotland*, near Otley in the West Riding of York. It is certain that in 1012 Canute landed near Slaines, in the parish of Cruden, and that later in the century Thorfin, Jarl of Orkney, reconquered Caithness, an event which was followed by a long succession of wars, resulting in 1034 in the total subjugation of Scotland as far south as the Firth of Tay, and that this Norwegian kingdom lasted thirty years. In the latter half of this century Scotland is found united under Macolm Canmor,[79] who had wedded the Saxon Princess Margaret. This event has been commonly given as the explanation of an

[79] *Kon-r*, Old Norse, a king, *Moer*, Gothic, great, renowned, celebrated, illustrious. This, as a set-off against the Gaelic *can*, caput *mor*, big the exceptional size of this king's head being contingent upon the accuracy of the so-called *Celtic* derivation. The personal name Malcolm, prefixed to his surname, as already indicated is Scandinavian.

alleged northern movement of Anglo-Saxons about the period of the Norman conquest, who, taking or receiving possession of the Scotch lowlands, displaced the native *Celtic* population. That many individuals of the Anglo-Norman nobility, and some few Saxon—or what have been called Anglo-Saxon—families, procured grants of land within the Kingdom of Scotland from Malcolm and his immediate successors, it would be idle to dispute, but that in any sense the inhabitants of North Britain of that period, especially of the lowlands, could with the remotest approximation to accuracy be described as *native* in the sense of Celts or aborigines,[80] or that in any sensible manner the colonizers of

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[80] The Celts, it would appear, were not the original inhabitants of the country. What race they superseded has not been determined, and, as I think, never will. Professor Rhys, agreeing with Dr. Skene, thinks they were "Iberians of the Neolithic age." Mr. Elton is of opinion they were "A Finnish people of the Bronze Age." My own idea is they were the "beggar-men" of a "brick-house age!" "I see some people," says Dr. R. Angus Smith,* "venturing to describe or give names to prehistoric or fabulous old races. The attempt is vain. We have no data worth mentioning; there may be a hundred represented among us, the remains of some types as they wandered over the land, whether from Asia or South Russia. We say nothing definite when we begin with Eskimos, as if we knew them to be the originals of men, We say as little when we talk of cave-men, and paleolithic, and neolithic men; we might as well talk of brick-house men, stone-house men, castle-men, and beggar-men."

* R. Angus Smith. LL.D., F.R.S.

what is now called Scotland were displaced and superseded by a Saxon population from England, I must be permitted to doubt.[81] This, as regards Scotland, is the era of impenetrable cloudland, the outer circumference of darkness in relation to the inner circle of light which almost immediately supervenes.

Wallace, in his learned disquisition on the ancient state of Scotland* informs us on the authority of Cæsar and Tacitus that "The Romans in their progress towards the northern parts of Britain found armies constantly in their front; a fact," he says, "incontrovertibly attested by the oldest authors, in whose writings any authentic information is preserved concerning ancient Caledonia; and a nation, against whose inroads, during the reigns of Titus, of Hadrian, of Antoninus, and of Severus, strong forts, deep fosses, high ramparts, and stupendous walls were obliged to be stretched by the victors from the German Ocean to the Irish

81 I suspect the only evidence of Caledonian displacement is found in the following lines:—

"Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,
Prime was his mutton and his claret good;
'Let him drink port,' the wily Saxon cried;
He drank the poison and his spirit died."

* *The Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages*, by George Wallace, Advocate, Edin., 1785.

Sea, must have been numerous." I reject as fabulous the ordinary assumption that the Scots of Ireland, a race numerically greatly inferior to the Caledonians, obtained a victory over the latter, and imposed their name on the whole of Scotland, and I think it unreasonable to believe that a warlike nation like the Picts, as described in the passage just cited, who successfully resisted the available force of the whole Roman Empire, were finally supplanted by a crowd of Saxon refugees driven thither from England.

Dr. Stuart says "According to M. Worsaae no small portion of the present population of Scotland, both in the Lowlands, and on the remotest coasts of the Highlands, is undoubtedly descended from the Northmen and particularly from the Norwegians. He thinks that both the Norwegians and Danes, wherever they established themselves, introduced their Scandinavian customs, and preserved in all circumstances the fundamental traits of their national character, and therefore that it is probable the Norwegian settlers in Scotland, must in certain districts at least have exercised a vast influence on the development of the more modern life of the Scotch people, and on their national character." Dr. Stuart, as might be expected, denies to "the

roving Northmen any great influence in forming the language or institutions of Scotland." &c. He speaks of the "vapouring language of the Sagas," which of course always vapour where they contain anything adverse to his hypothesis. It is evident that his are the utterances of one who has delivered himself bound hand and foot to the doctrines of Celticism. A scholarly enquirer without doubt, it may be truly said of him as Cosmo Innes says of Riddell, it is not in *reasoning* that he excels. Like Kingsley, "he lacks the primary gift of all; he cannot discern truth from falsehood; everything in the shape of *evidence* is thrown away upon him."

The views propounded in the *Prehistoric Annals* seem to fall under a division of Scotch history suggested by the historian Dr. Roberston. This he describes as "the region of pure fable and conjecture to be totally neglected or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries." Dr. Wilson's statements in the main are a jumble of incongruous impossibilities. All in the book is shallow. Everything is touched upon, but nothing firmly grasped. "Sober truth and solemn nonsense strangely blended." Perhaps no expounder of Celtic absurdity has either before or since committed himself so irretrievably

to the maintenance of impossible fiction. In his introduction to the "Annals" he sets up a wail deploring the perversity of certain writers who persist in calling a spade, a spade. He cries out that "truth is profaned when his dogmas are questioned" and would "stone the discoverer who unsettles his arbitrary land marks." Of this the author of the *Rude Stone Monuments* gives the substance in a foot note, only to sweep the whole clean away. "This theory of the Danish origin of nearly all our native arts," says Ferguson citing from the "pre-historic" chronicler, "though adopted without investigation, and fostered in defiance of evidence has long ceased to be a mere popular error. It is moreover a cumulative error; Pennant, Chambers, Barry, Mac Culloch, Scott, Hibbert, and a host of other writers might be quoted to show that theory, like a snow-ball gathers as it rolls, taking up indiscriminately whatever chances to be in its erratic course," &c. "In spite of his indignation however," says this matter-of-fact enquirer already referred to, "I suspect it will be found to have gathered such force, that it will be found very difficult to discredit it.[82] Since,

[82] Errors and deceptions last only for a time. A truth once established remains undisputed.

too, Alexander Bertrand made his onslaught on the theory, that the Celts had anything to do with the megalithic monuments, the ground is fast being cut away from under their feet; and though the proofs are still far from complete, yet, *according to present appearances the Celts must resign their claims to any of the stone circles certainly, and to most of the other stone monuments we are acquainted with, if not all.*" This is the deliverance of one who tells us, that "no other antiquary," so far as he is aware, "has gone so carefully and fully into the whole subject, or has faced all the difficulties with which the questions are everywhere perplexed," and this is saying much. "Of Celtic art," remarked the late J. M. Kemble, "we know but little," which is only a milder form of the statement that we know absolutely nothing. For myself, I do not believe such reasons could be given as would convince any plain man of practical sense that the Celts, or Kelts,[83] in the sense of aborigines,

83 "There are only two excuses for writing *Kelt;* one of which is that the Greek form of the word is in that way preserved, the other that Kelt suggests the true pronunciation. But I cannot see why we need discard an old custom in order to adopt the Greek spelling of a word for which we are indebted at least as much to Latin as to Greek authors."—*The English and their Origin, by Luke Owen Pike, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, London,* 1866.

possessed any knowledge of art whatever, and that all that has been written to the contrary from the time of George Chalmers to the present, is only so many figments of the imagination to the already large heap. I could not more forcibly express my views in regard to the topography of Scotland, and the history and ethnology of the Scotch than by transcribing a paper on this subject which I contributed in 1870 to a well-known periodical under the title of *Footprints of the Northmen in North Britain.* This was written in reply to the strictures of the late Colonel Robertson, the author of a work on the Gaelic topography of Scotland, who disputed under the pseudonym, and with the gallantry and pertinacity of "A HIGHLANDER." The communications to which mine is a reply will be found in the pages of *Notes and Queries*:—

"I am sorry I have disturbed the equanimity of A HIGHLANDER. If he gives no proof other than his simple dictum to support his dogmatic negations, he at least affords abundant evidence of the possession of that quality ascribed to his countrymen — the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum.*

"'As to the Norsemen,' he says 'being the true progenitors of either the Highlanders or Lowlanders of

Scotland, it is absurd, and contrary to all history[84] and truth.'

"What history and what truth? The truth as revealed in the *Prehistoric Annals* or *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, by the Spalding Club? Assuredly these do not contain the confession of my faith.

"'It is remarkable,' says Lord Lytton, 'that the modern inhabitants of those portions of the kingdom originally peopled by the Danes are, irrespectively of mere party divisions, noted for their intolerance of all oppression, and their resolute independence of character; to wit, Yorkshire, Norfolk, Cumberland, and *large districts in the Scottish Lowlands*.'

"Evidently as regards Scotland there are two periods of its history—that of impalpable myth glimpsed through the lives of the early saints, under which I take leave to include the campaigns of the Cymric bards; another, which commences with the reign of David I.—a monarch who, by reason of his kirk-building proclivities, impoverished the exchequer, and is described as 'ane soir sanct for the crown.' 'He was the founder of the church in Scotland,' and 'we cannot get

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[84] "It is somewhat probable that a colony from the north-east, and therefore in all likelihood of German descent, found its way to North Britain, between the time of Tacitus and that of Ammianus." —*Prichard.*

beyond him.' "He was the founder of the law still more than of the church in Scotland; we cannot get beyond him."[85] Indeed we cannot, for with this king's reign the authentic history of Scotland obviously begins. To this period, beyond all question, must be assigned the Scottish sculptured remains, which on no authority that I can discover, save the fantastic notions of their expositors, have been arbitrarily placed far back in the dark ages.

"*Krum-r* is a proper name, of which the *r* final forms no part. Krumby means Krum's Village. In the orthography here given it occurs twice in an old map of the Fife coast, as also the name Wedder*bie*=Norse personal name *Vedur* and Danish *by*. Other names in Fife, into the composition of which this postfix enters, are Cairncu*bie*, Corte*by*, Carn*bie*, Kyna*by*, Crum*bie*-toune, Rosco*bie*, Lam*bie*-letham, and Crom*bie*-point. Examples of the Norwegian termination *bo* are found in the names Cam*bo* and Ble*bo*. In *Locker-*

85 "Of the Conventual and Cathedral churches," Muir says, "all or most of these, of Romanesque date, of which there are either actual remains or historic record, seem to have been commenced during the earlier part of that fecund period, the reign of David I. 1124-1153, and were in most cases directly the offspring of that monarch's concern for the honour and aggrandisement of the Church."—*Characteristics, p.* 6.

ston, *Bore*land, *Otter*ston, *Starr*, Gadavan, Torryburn, Bal*gonar*, Bal*beardie*, Vicar-Grange, Guttergates, *Irnie*hill, and Kettle are found the Norse personal names Loker, Bor, Ottar, Starri, Godvin, Turi-Biörn, Gunnar, Bardi, Vikar, Gothar, Arni, and Ketil.

"In Fife is a place called *Carnock*, corresponding to the Lancashire landname and surname of Charnock. *Ch* and *C*=*K*=Norse proper name *Kár*, and Icelandic word *hnuk-r*, primarily the round of the knuckles, also denoting mountains and knolls so fashioned. In the county of Edinburgh we have Hedderwick, Brunstane-burn, Karkettill, Arnistoun, Guters, Duddistown, Lochwhar, Currie, Cur*thropp*le, Wedderly, and Silver Mills; in Linlithgo, Wholpsyid, Halbarnes, Torfichen, &c., giving the names Heider, Brún, Kar-Ketil, Arni, Gothar, Doddi or Toddi, Loker, Kóri, Vedur, Sölvar, Hialp,* Halbiörn, and Torfi. The name Hum*by* occurs three times in Mid-Lothian, and once in the county of Linlithgow.

Aber is evidently an ancient Gothic word cognate with the German *Ober*, *Über*, over or beyond† in use among the early Northmen, as Aber*cromby*,

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* "Gothic *Whialp*.

† "'It is such old Scythic as to be absolute Greek—*ὑπέρ*, upon, above, beyond.'—*Pinkerton*

Aber*conway*, Aber*ayron*, Aber*aman*, Aber*erch*, Aber*gwilli*, Aber*mule*, Aber*lady*, Aber*car*, Aber-sye-han, Aber*feldy*, giving the personal names Krum-r, Kon-r, Aron, Amund, Urk, Göll, Miöll, Lodi, Kár, with the Scandinavian terms by = village, *vag* = bay, *siki*, O. Norse = a water-course, *han*, a home or abode, *fjeld*, a mountain. In Abber*tun* we have the Icelandic *tûn*, in Aber-*ford* the Norse *fjord*. There is Aber in Bangor, and Abor, a town of Norway on the sea; Aber-den in the Duchy of Bremen, Lower Saxony; Ober*fell*, a Prussian town in the Rhenish provinces; Oberkirch, a town of Baden; Aber*vrack* in Brittany, a name of purely Norse construction; and *Haber*ness in Denmark. There was also the Pictish monastery of Aber-*curni-g*, of which Trumuin was abbot. In this is found the Scandinavian proper name *Korni*, and possibly the Dan. *Vig*, Icel. *Vik* = bay of the sea.* With the name Trumuin, otherwise *Drumuin*, compare the Yorkshire land name Droman-by.[86] Aber with the significance, over or beyond, is found in the Zendic or Old Persian, with which the ancient Gothic had much in common. The

* "*Noreg* is the old Gothic form of Norway.

86 Sir. A. Weldon mentions a court-fool named David Droman who lived in the beginning of the 17th century.

Germanii are mentioned by Herodotus as a Persian people, while Bishop Percy maintained that the Celts and Teutons were, *ab origine*, two distinct races.

"'It is now as certain' we are told, 'that Greek, Gothic, and Slavonic are the descendants of some ancient dialect nearly related to the Sanscrit, as that Portuguese is derived from Latin.'

"The Sanscrit word is *Apara* अपर, identical in signification—over or beyond. Our old chronicles, put *Apur* for *Aber*. (Innes p, 778.) Icelandic writers say *Apurdeu* for Aberdeen.

"If further evidence were wanting, there is the statute of Canute the Dane against *Aber*murder, murder over or above—in a higher degree—as distinguishable from the less heinous crime of manslaughter. Col. Vans Kennedy, in his *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia*, affirms that 'the British or Celtic language has no connection with the language of the East, either in words or phrases, or the construction of sentences or the pronunciation of letters.'[88] It would, therefore, appear that

88 Col. Vans Kennedy, it appears, is not an *authority*. I take leave to suggest that he could see as far into a mill-stone as any other person. The subject which he discusses will be satisfactorily explained when the finite comprehends the Infinite. The findings of Professor Max Müller are certainly not particularly assuring.

the words of the several dialects of the Celtic, so named, which admit of identification with others of kindred significance in Sanscrit, is probably owing to the presence of obsolete Gothic words which form so considerable an element in these mixed and relatively modern remains. Prichard says, 'That with respect to particular vocables, he could point out instances in which Greek or Sanscrit words are preserved in the Welsh, which have disappeared in the German dialects.'

"Cromdale is not a 'field.' It is a valley, flowing through which is the river *Spey*. *Crum* being a Teutonic word=German *krumm*, in the sense of crooked, there is no need to believe it was borrowed thence from the Celts. On the contrary, Thomson tells us what it seems reasonable to believe of a people who possessed nothing of their own, that 'the Celts were generally the borrowers from the Gothic.' There is Crom*ford* in Derby. *Dale*=Old Norse *dal-r*, a valley. The

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"Celtic words," he says, "may be found in German, Slavonic, and even Latin, but only as foreign terms, and their number is much smaller than commonly supposed. A far larger number of Latin and German words have since found their way into the modern Celtic dialects, and these have frequently been mistaken by Celtic enthusiasts for original words from which German and Latin might in their turn be derived."

Spey, the most rapid river in Scotland, seems to be from the Icelandic *spý*, *spya*, to eject from the mouth. Old Norse *spyta*=spout. In Norway is a lake called "Spyten Vand," the spout water.

"In the counties of Kerry and Leitrim, which A Highlander says the Danes never inhabited, are the names Glanbe*by*, Milltown, Knockane, Balliduff, Cloghane, and Hungry-hill, in which are found the Danish personal names Miöll, Hnockan, Bali-Duf-r, Klag, and Hunger. Situated in this county are the hills called *Barnasna*= Scand. proper name *Biarna*, and Icel. *snæ*= snow. Not far from Kerry is an islet named *Calf*, a term employed by the Northmen to designate a smaller island in relation to a greater. In Leitrim we have Banduff, Hamilton, Drumahair, Carrick, and Drummote, indicating settlements of the Northmen, Duf-r, Hamil, Dromi-Hár, Koeruk, and Dromi-Ot-r.

"If the Northmen did not make their descent upon the mainland of Scotland before the tenth century, the Picts *must* have been Scandinavians. If the Picts were *not* Scandinavians they spoke a dialect of the Icelandic tongue, for it is plain to any one that not a few of the river names and mountain ranges, and much of the topographical nomenclature of the mainland of Scotland, high-

land and lowland, must have been imposed by a race speaking the language of the Northmen.[89] Tacitus gives to the Picts a German descent,[90] while Bede tells us that they differed in size, their red hair, and their language from the Irish Scots. Pinkerton and Jamieson maintained their Teutonic origin. To Dr. Macculloch there seemed 'little reason to doubt the Picts and Scandinavians were radically one and the same people.' Last, not least, Dr. Latham suggested that 'after all the Picts *may* have been Scandinavians'—a remark which called down the stricture of the late Mr. Rhind of Sibster, who pronounced this scholarly inquirer the 'farthest from the truth' of any who had written on the subject, 'always excepting John Pinkerton;' but Mr. Rhind was

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89 "The etymology of national names," Dr. Latham says, "is generally considered a powerful instrument in ethnological research. It is doubtful, however, whether much has been done by it. Few writers admit any one's etymologies but their own, a proof," he says, "of the arbitrary method in which the practice is carried out."—*Germania of Tacitus*, by *R. G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S., London*, 1851, *p. li.*

90 Cornelius Tacitus wrote his history at the end of the first century of our era, A.D. 98; Pinkerton says A.D. 97. "It is generally acknowleged that the Picts were originally Germans, and particularly from that part of it bordering upon the Baltic Sea."—*Descriptions of the Western Islands of Scotland*, by *Martin, circa*, 1695; *reprint, p.* 389. "It is generally acknowledged," that is, at the end of the seventeenth century this was the prevailing belief. Who has since produced any *evidence* to the contrary?

'satisfied as to the generic Kelticism of the Picts,' which, however, I am not. Dr. Jamieson viewed it as 'no inconsiderable proof that the northern parts of Scotland were immediately peopled from the north of Europe by a Gothic race, that otherwise no satisfactory account can be given of the introduction of the vulgar language.'

"'If at the present moment,' says Mr. Ellis, 'the Celtic language prevailed over the whole of Scotland, instead of being confined to the Highlands, such a testimony would compel us to admit, either that the Saxons and Danes had been prevented by some unaccountable cause from attempting to form a settlement on the northern shores of this island, or that their attempts had been rendered abortive by the superior bravery and skill of the inhabitants. But as the same Teutonic dialects are found to form the basis of the language, both in England and in the Lowlands of Scotland, Mr. Hume has been induced—and apparently with great reason—to infer from this similarity of speech a similar series of successive invasions, although this success is not recorded by the historians of Scotland. To suppose, indeed,' continues this writer, 'that a few foreign adherents of a court, received as refugees could change the language of a country, is to form the idea of something which would appear in history as a fact completely insulated.'

"I choose to believe that the Caledonians never were displaced, that their conflicts with

the Danes were not between Celt and Teuton, but between the earlier Scandinavian settlers, and their invaders the Northmen, with whom they owned a common origin; and that the occupants of the Scottish mainland then, as at present, were radically none other than part and parcel of 'that great people' who, as we learn from Gibbon, 'afterwards broke the Roman power, sacked the Capitol, and reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Italy.' That the Picts were of Gothic origin appears to me the theory of light against darkness, the acceptance of plain facts against the perversion of all testimony; the only conclusion that fulfils the conditions of circumstantial evidence—the one fact which, being assumed, explains all the others.[91]

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91 The author of *Rude Stone Monuments*, with less than his usual acumen, takes it for granted that the Picts were Celts. Contrasting the invaders with the invaded, he calls the Northmen "a race of Giants," which they were, "superseding a nation of Pigmies," which the Picts obviously were not, with whom, he says, "they certainly had no blood affinities." Again he says, "Few problems are more perplexed, and at the same time of their kind more important, than the origin of the Picts." It is abundantly evident that in this matter Fergusson takes his cue from Mr. John Stuart, whose views he appears to have adopted without independent investigation or examination. If the Peti, Pape or Papas, who peopled the islands on which the Norwegians built their broch structures, were *Pigmies*, I do not know. It was doubtless this unknown race that Fergusson, in his letter to myself, describes as "the wretched Celtic inhabitants of the isles." It is conceded on all hands that the Picts and Caledonians, were the same people. Tacitus makes their

"It has been boldly asserted that the language of Scotland, in the reign of Malcolm Canmor, 'king, court, and people, Highland and Lowland, except a narrow slip of sea-coast, was Celtic or Gælic;' which, however, is merely the echo of an opinion set forth by Verstegan, and wholly unsupported by any kind of evidence.

"There are unquestionably two languages in North Britain, in grammatical construction radically distinct; the Lowland, or vernacular Scotch formed independently like the English, without any element of Celtic; and the Gælic speech of the mountaineer, moulded into a written language within a comparatively recent period, and bearing a close affinity to the Manx—the Celtic element in both cases being proportionately overlaid with the language of the old Norwegian immigrants by whom the native Celts were surrounded, and into whose ranks, as an inferior people, without a written tongue—doubtless as serfs and bondsmen—they were eventually absorbed.

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stature and origin very clear. Speaking of the inhabitants of Britain, and professing to found his narrative on the evidence of real discoveries, he says, "The ruddy hair of those inhabiting Caledonia, and their large limbs demonstrate their German origin," (rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam asseverant)—*Cn Julii Agricolæ Vita Scriptore, C. Cornelo Tacito.* It is plainly not the legs or lower limbs, that are here meant by the Latin word *artus*, but the entire physical structure, obviously that the Caledonians were of stalwart frame.

"Mr. Planché, in allusion to the early history of Ireland, informs us upon the authority of Tacitus, and 'on every evidence, historical or traditional,' of 'the introduction at some very remote period, either by conquest or colonization, of a distinct race from its original inhabitants; a fact,' he says, 'which is substantiated by the marked distinction still existing in the persons and complexions of the peasantry of the eastern and midland districts,' who exhibit 'the blue eyes and flaxen hair characteristic of all the Scythic or German tribes.'[93]

"Thomson says 'it is well known that ever since the earliest ages of our history adventurers from the shores of Scandinavia made annual excursions into Ireland and Scotland to plunder cattle for their winter subsistence.' These Gothic freebooters were called *Scots* from the nature of their visits—a name which it is not difficult to believe may have had its origin in the Gothic *Skot*, Icel. *Skaut*, 'tributum exigere.' The Irish, we are told, still understand *Scuite* 'as a wanderer or *pillager*.' Wheaton tells us that in 852

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93 "Saxo Grammaticus informs us that there were invasions of Ireland in the year of the Incarnation by the Northmen, and they were then powerful in ships."—*The Anglo-Cimbri and Teutonic Races, by James Rankin, F.R.A.S.*

all the northern adventurers in Ireland submitted to the King of Scandinavia, who 'levied tribute on the natives'—a practice to which, in the view of previous exactions, is probably to be ascribed the name Scotland, at one time applied to Ireland, afterwards to Scotland itself, as an effect of the like cause.

"The editor of *The Athenæum*, reviewing Mr. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, says:—

"'As we compare the oldest monuments of the Erse with those dialects confessedly Teutonic, we are powerfully struck with the resemblance. This fact alone,' he continues, 'independent of all authority, we hold to be decisive of the question, that the *Scots* were Germans, whether derived immediately from the country usually understood by that name or from Scandinavia is of no consequence.'[94]

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94 Martin in *A Description of the Western Islands* (written *circa* 1695) unwittingly confirms these remarks in his very first sentence. "The Island of Lewis," he says, "is so called from Leog, which in the Irish language signifies water, lying on the surface of the ground, which is very proper to this island, because of the great number of fresh water lakes that abound in it." Now *Leog*, which is here called Irish or Erse is simply the Norse word *Laug*, with the vowels changed. In discussing the significance of this term with the late Principal Barclay, a well-known Icelandic scholar, he wrote, "*laug* signifies water, moisture, a lake (Latin *lacus*), a place in which ships lie at anchor, a bath. The verb *lauga* is to bathe. The various significations of this word all imply *still* water, as opposed to running water. It is cognate with *lág*, low, flat, and the root is probably *liggja*, to lie down." (Letter of Principal Barclay, Glasgow University, to J. C. Roger, May 11, 1870). This is only one of numberless so-called Celtic terms distinctly traceable to the Norse—*ab uno disce omnes*.

"To this I have to add, on the authority of a scholarly German, that from his acquaintance with the *patois* of Northern Germany he could understand and make himself intelligible to the Gaelic-speaking natives of Scotland.

"The several dialects of what has been called Celtic, it seems to me, might be compared to so many dust-heaps to which has been swept the refuse of all other languages from time immemorial. Hardly in the view of probability does it appear more reasonable to derive the place-names of England and those of the Scottish mainland from the Welsh or Gaelic, than it would be to derive the words and phrases of the great Teutonic stock from the modern English, or the language spoken by our Transatlantic kindred, from the fragments of broken English which alternate with the 'caw caw click click' in the vocabulary of the Red Man of America.

"In plain English, the Scotch Highlanders, originally perhaps a semi-Celtic race, are radically Northmen, chiefly Norwegians, differing from the inhabitants of the Lowlands only in that into their composition there *does* enter a *Celtic* element; the Lowlanders, as descendants of the Picts or ancient Caledonians, a Gothic race, augmented with new accessions of Danes and

Northmen, being purely, or as much as may be, Goths or Teutons.

"The manners and customs of the Highlanders their dress, ornaments, art, and implements of warfare, plainly point to their Scandinavian accessions. The sword-dance is Norwegian.[95] The *fibula* of the Scottish mountaineer was brought thither by the Northmen. To Sweden we must go for the *staendser hus*, Gothic *stanid hos*, stained hose. The plaid of the Highland Scot is explained in the Mœso-Gothic *plaid*, a cloak, Icelandic *palt*. The sporan has no verbal connection in Erse, but is found in the *briki beltis sporn* of the Goths, Danes, and Swedes; while tradition we are told, points to the Northmen as the authors of the bagpipe,* with whom also clanship appears to have had its origin. Neither can there be any doubt as to the northern derivation of the word *foster*.[96]

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95 An *Armed Dance* was known to the Curetes, the Corybantes, the Telchines, and the Idœi Dactyli, who were of the race or tribe of the ancient Egyptian Priests. They were addicted to sacred shows, Bacchanalian processions, and ecstatic performances.

* "This was used by the Greeks and Romans. It was the instrument of war among the Roman infantry."—*Pinkerton.*

96 "The word *foster* is not found in Anglo-Saxon, Moeso-Gothic, or German. But in Icelandic *fóstr* is the fostering of a child, and *fostri* is a foster-father or foster-son."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. 139. (1875) p. 449.

"The flat bonnet, Planché says, if ancient, is of Saxon or Danish introduction. Not even the kilt has any connection with the Celts. This was worn by the Norwegian King Magnus, and is explained in the Gothic *kiolt*, Icelandic, *kult*, *kellta* (vernacular Scotch *kiltie*, a Highlander), Danish *kilt*, a lap or fold—drapery;[97] while the songs that Macpherson found floating in the mouths of the Highlanders, like the poetry of the so-called Cymric bards, are conceived in the spirit of the Northmen.[98] In short, the pure Celt,

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97 To the body-armour of the Greek belonged a kilt (ζῶμα); a sort of petticoat, which was fastened to the armour itself, and hung to the mid-thigh.

98 George Dempster of Dunichen, in a letter to Boswell says of Dr. Johnson, "I am charmed with his researches concerning the Erse language and the antiquity of their manuscripts. I am quite convinced, and shall rank *Ossian*, and his *Fingals*,* and *Oscars* among the nursery tales, not the true history of our country in all time to come."

Being told Macpherson had been heard to state that part of the manuscripts were in the Saxon character, Johnson said "He has then found by some peculiar fortune, an unwritten language written in a character which the natives probably never beheld." Johnson's share in the detection of the Macpherson fraud seems to have called down the indignation of a member of the Gaelic society of Inverness, who considers Dr. Johnson's position in literature "the opprobrium of English letters," and "one he neither deserves nor would be allowed by any other nation than the English," &c. The gentleman who indulges in this species of invective is Mr. A. Macbain. It is affirmed that the Gaelic leases of Macleod of Raasay were exhibited at

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* *Fingall* is the name of a parish-town in the North Riding of York.

or primitive barbarian of the British Isles, naked as from the earth, save so much of his person as was concealed by a covering formed of the skins of wild animals, seems to have had absolutely nothing he could call his own. I know not indeed if, in view of their supposed Celtic origin, it was in allusion to this the old chiefs of Argyll adopted the motto 'Vix ea nostra voco.' The peculiar habit long worn by the Scottish mountaineer was abolished by Act of Parliament in the reign of George II., till, in 1782, as Wallace informs us, by a repeal of the prohibitory statute, 'a garb not remarkable for decency was restored to its admirers.' It is proverbially impossible to 'tak the breeks aff a Hielandman'; but having denuded him of his kilt, propriety suggests that he be instantly dismissed."

Col. Robertson, in one of his papers referred me to Simpkin and Marshall—I presume the

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the shop of a well-known London publisher as the originals of Ossian's poems. It is at least certain that the manuscripts from which Macpherson professed to have made his translation were never produced. The inference from this is that they never existed. To refuse, Dr. Johnson says, to gratify a reasonable curiosity is the last refuge of impudent mendacity. Dr. Irving says, "It is no longer pretended that any Gaelic poetry has been preserved in early manuscripts; and indeed the period when Gaelic can be traced as a written language is comparatively modern."—*History of Scottish Poetry*, David Irving, LL.D., p. 12.

publishers of his book on the Gaelic topography of Scotland, but I should think this can contain nothing more grotesque than the explanation of the name *Bendochy* given by the late Dr. Barty[100] in the *New Statistical Account*. "An ingenious and learned friend," he says, writes me as follows: 'I suppose the name to be a compound of three Gaelic syllables, Ben *a hill*, do, a verbal particle prefixed to the preterite or future, and chi, the future of the verb *to see*. Ben-do-chi, *the hill of the good prospect*.' The rising ground on the southern base of which the church and manse stand is midway between the Sedlaw [South law] and Grampian ranges, and equidistant from Forfar and Perth, the limits of Strathmore proper. The view from it is extensive, varied and beautiful. 'It would with the same meaning' adds my correspondent, 'admit of being written Ben a-chi, or Ben-a-thi.' This is fortunate, giving authority for the supposed vulgar pronunciation of the natives, and meeting

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100 Rev. J. S. Barty D.D., Minister of Bendochy, a gentleman of exceptional ability, with an exquisite conception of the ludicrous. Dr. Barty's "learned" friend, had he survived to our times, would have found other varieties of this name on which to exercise his ingenuity such as *Benachty*, *Bendachtye*, *Bendochtye*, and *Benothy*. It is not however to be doubted that in his hands these too would have found a ready solution.

to some extent the predilections of my predecessor for 'Benathie.' But what is to be done with 'Bendothy,' the spelling on the communion cups, and retained by the writer of the former account? Here is the solution—'*Ta* is old Gaelic for water, *The Tay is water par excellence.* Ben-do or da-tha, would be *the hill of two waters*, *do* or *da* means two, and *tha* would be the objective case of *Ta*.' The rising ground (why called a hill I know not) is bounded on the North by the Islay, or the church is on the base of the eminence, bounded on both sides by the Isla and Ericht. Select for yourself, reader, and acknowledge with thankfulness the plastic powers of Gælic etymology." This is a sample, though not the richest by any means, of what has been called Celtic derivation. "The infatuation of Celtic etymology," Pinkerton says, "of deriving ancient words from a modern language of a most lax and indefinite nature, and full of terms transferred from the Latin and the Gothic, by the mixture of the Romans, Danes, Norwegians, and other nations among the Celtic inhabitants of the three kingdoms has long been an object of surprise and ridicule. No man of real erudition has ever ventured into the bogs haunted by this *ignis fatuus*."

Of the qualifications of him who led the vanguard of Celticism we have the following account. "George Chalmers, the author of 'Caledonia,* the enemy of Pinkerton, the champion of the Celts, has done more than any one man for the topography and family history of Scotland. He laboured under the disadvantage of defective scholarship, of which he was quite unconscious; and he is not more strong in Gaelic and British, I believe than in Latin." Such is the estimate of Professor Innes, himself an expounder of that impossible hypothesis. And this is the man who essays to instruct others in the mysteries of Celticism. It is the old story of the blind leading the blind, and he who accepts the convoy must inevitably fall into the ditch. At the siege of Copenhagen, a British bomb fell on the study of Grim Thorkelin, the Danish antiquary, annihilating "Beowulf, transcript, translation, and commentary, the toil," says the elder Disraeli, "of twenty years." Viewed as historic proofs, I doubt if it could be regarded a calamity if the entire network of Celticism, together with

* A work which does not now occupy the place it once did as an historical authority. It enshrines a vast wealth of local and family lore, but it is never to be consulted except under enlightened precautions.—*Edin. Review.*

the bootless disquisitions of its modern expositors, were in like manner discounted from the materials of authentic history; but whatever may be thought of their conclusions, the praise of singular ingenuity cannot be denied to a class of writers who, without one well authenticated fact, in the face of probability, and in contradiction of common sense, have succeeded in raising "so large a superstructure on such a slender foundation."

APPENDIX.

Copy of a letter from Dr. Daniel Wilson (*now* Sir Daniel Wilson, K C.M.G.)

Toronto,

June 26th, 1884.

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge with thanks a copy of your "Celticism a Myth" just received. It is not necessary that I agree with you in all respects in order to value a discussion on an interesting subject in which there is room for variety of opinion. The Celts are no myth whatever "Celticism" may be.

I have still in my possession the careful copy of the first runic inscription in St. Molio's Cave made by me thirty-four years ago. The cast which you have is no doubt still more reliable, but it will scarcely suffice to convince me that any genuine Rune-raister spelled *thane* ᛏᚼᛅᚾ, and not as on the Laws crescent plate and elsewhere ᚦᛅ . . .

But you carry on the controversy in the vigorous fashion of Pinkerton, Ritson, and the literary combatants of an elder generation. If

Dr. Anderson has the courage to take up the gauntlet and reply in the same style, I shall look with interest for the later contributions to the discussion.

Dear Sir, yours truly,

DAN. WILSON.

J. C. ROGER, Esq.
Barrister, &c., &c.

Copy of my reply.

The Crouchers,
Aldborough Hatch,
Ilford, Essex.

Dear Sir, July 10, 1884.

I was favoured two days since with your letter of 26th ult. So far as the Celts are concerned I have drawn the sword (not Dr. Anderson's Celtic weapon) and thrown away the scabbard. Dr. Anderson has been lecturing at Inverness. By the newspaper reports he has been telling the good people of the north that though the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland lived in mud huts, and bee-hive houses built with dry stone walls, they nevertheless cultivated art, illu-

minated MSS., and were advanced in science. There are still persons living in the remote glens of Scotland who believe there were witches who voyaged through the air on broomsticks and who can see a coffin in a flake of soot. It is altogether very sad. A man is not responsible for his belief, but he *is* responsible for the manner in which he examines the grounds on which he forms that belief.

I perceive you are still unwilling to be convinced in the matter of the word *thane*. You seem to ground your objection that there is no known example of a genuine Norse inscription graven with ᛏ and ✳ instead of ᚦ. Professor Stephens of Copenhagen in a communication I had from him a month since, says, "Of this (TH for ᚦ) we have runic examples. I will only mention one. The Northumbrian Brooch in my *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, vol. 1. p. 386 (p. 125 of my *Hand Book* just published) spells the ᚦ in the name ÆLCFRITH with TH, not with ᚦ, consequently we must read NIKULOS THIS RISTED (cut)."

If you decline such testimony, neither I fear would you be persuaded if "Nikulos" himself were to rise from the dead.

I have no fear as to anything that Dr. Anderson may say, still less as to his manner of saying it. I feel that in regard to the main question I stand upon a rock.—*Magna est veritas,* &c.

Yours truly,

J. C. Roger.

Daniel Wilson, Esq., LL.D.

Principal of University College,

Toronto, Canada.

Note.—A good deal of the matter incorporated in the preceding pages was communicated by me to *Notes and Queries* between the years 1868 and 1872, under the signatures of "W. B. Glasgow," "Middle Templar," "Bilbo," "J. Ck. R.," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS AND OF MEN OF SCIENCE AND LETTERS IN REGARD TO THE FIRST EDITION.

"The author of the pamphlet called *Celticism a Myth* has attacked advocates of the Celtic theory with courage and vigour. He conducts his campaign upon simple and intelligible principles. He merely denies that there ever was such a thing in this country as Celtic literature or Celtic art, and asserts that all the archæological remains upon which elaborate theories have been reared, may be ascribed with certainty to the Scandinavians. There is doubtless much truth in his remarks upon the fanciful hypotheses which have recently been advanced as to the origin of the sculptured stones, the Book of Deir, the Hunterston Brooch, and other so-called Celtic relics; and some of his explanations of dubious phrases show considerable ingenuity. . . . . His style is powerful, though not elegant, and he makes his meaning clear without multiplying words unnecessarily." —*Dundee Advertiser.*

"An historical essay, filling a post 8vo. pamphlet of nearly ninety pages. Its object is to prove that the early people of Scotland and Ireland, as far as we know anything of them, were Norwegians and Danes by descent, and that their language, art, and all else that remain are essentially Teutonic in construction and affinity. Whether his conclusions are right or wrong, the author shows learning and research of no ordinary kind."—*The Bookseller.*

"Mr. Roger submits for consideration his reasons for alleging 'that the assumption of Celtic civilization and Celtic art is absolutely without foundation.' He adopts and defends the theory of Dr. James Fergusson, that the Brochs are the works of the Norwegians; and he calls in question the theories of those archæologists, who hold that the sculptured stones, the ornamentations in the Book of Deir, and the Hunterston brooch are of Celtic origin. . . . . It may safely be remarked that Mr. Roger has propounded some very ingenious arguments in corroboration of Dr. Fergusson's contention that the Brochs were built by the Vikings, first as a basis for their operations farther south, and afterwards to hold the country till the establish-

ment of a settled government among them enabled them to dispense with these fortified forts. Mr. Roger refers to the mysterious rock sculptures of the 'Doo Cave' at East Wemyss, and points out that side by side with the figure called an 'elephant' is the sign of Thor's hammer, which he very pertinently observes is 'identical in form with the fifteenth figure, so named in Baring-Gould's table of Icelandic mystical signs given in his published work, London, 1863.' This is a hard nut to crack for the upholders of the Celtic theory of the origin of these peculiar markings. Mr. Roger's interesting pamphlet deserves the serious consideration of such expounders of Celticism as Dr. Daniel Wilson and Dr. Joseph Anderson."—*Edinburgh Courant.*

"Those who have been led to believe that our Celtic ancestors reached a high state of civilization in the pre-historic age, so that they were competent to produce Ossian's poems, and the beautiful works of art in stone and metal with which they are accredited by Mr. Cosmo Innes, Dr. Joseph Anderson, and other authors of the same school, will find a good deal in this treatise by Mr. Roger that will tend to unsettle their faith. Whilst we are far from thinking he has established the contrary position, that the credit given to the Celtic tribes is due to the Norwegian colonists who settled in Scotland, we readily acknowledge that he writes in a scholarly style, and shows himself to be well conversant with both sides of the question at issue."—*Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser.*

"I have no objection to the Northmen theory in another form; indeed the Northmen theory has been gradually taking possession of me. But I should put the direct Northern influence much earlier than the Danish invasions of 800 and so on. . . . . I should be prepared to accept evidence of an early Scandinavian influence; developed by the very earliest Scotic monks in their long days of isolation. 'Celt' and 'Celtic' I look upon as convenient terms for describing what we don't quite know how else to describe."—*Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., Trinity College, Cambridge, Disney Professor of Archæology.*

"As to what concerns me specially, I will with your permission, add to my *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, Vol. IV. your explanation

that in the St. Molio cave the word is really THÆNE=*This*. Of this TH for ᚦ we have runic examples. I will only mention one. The Northumbrian Brooch in my *Old Northern Runic Monuments* Vol. I. p. 386 (p. 125 of my *Hand Book* in 4to, just published) spells the ᚦ in the name ÆLCFRITH with TH, *not* with ᚦ consequently we must read *NIKULOS THIS RISTED* (cut)."—*Professor George Stephens, LL.D., University of Copenhagen.*

"Thank you very much for your most interesting paper on the Celtic Myth. I quite believe with you, that the so-called Celtic ornamentations on stones, brooches &c., is Scandinavian."—Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A., Author of *Iceland its Scenes and its Sagas; Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, &c., &c.,

"Your essay I have read with much interest, and with entire satisfaction as to the conclusiveness of your reasonings. Some of your positions I should like to investigate a little more; but assuming these, I think your reasoning conclusive. You have certainly given what you call Celticism a fright, if you have not given it the *coup de grace*, and sent it for ever to 'the back o' beyond.'—*Macte Virtute tua.*"—*The late Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., LL.D., Vice-President R.S.E., &c.; Principal of the Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches in Scotland.*

"If you have thought me a little tardy in acknowledging your treatise, let me say that the delay is owing to my having wished to read your book before writing to you on the subject. Having done so twice, and nearly thrice, I have no hesitation in saying that a more delightful work of the kind I have never perused. You certainly knock one's old beliefs about most unmercifully, but your arguments are extremely cogent, and it seems to me that you have made out your case. Your mode of handling the subject of Celticism is not only instructive but you manage to throw an amount of humour into the discussion, which at first sight one would scarcely think a possible element to be imported into so serious a controversy. I see, too, that you employ with damaging effect that all-potent weapon ridicule, while your archæological learning is profound and well applied. I shall be interested to know how the learned world stands your sledge-hammer onslaught on one of its pet theories."—*S. C. H. Flood, Esq., Barrister-at-Law;* Author of *A Treatise on the Law of Wills, of Personal Property, The Pitfalls of Testators, &c., &c.*

"I have read your treatise with much interest even although the subject is not one which I have studied as carefully as I should have done. There can be no doubt whatever that you have proved your point, and that we must go elsewhere than to the aborigines of the British Isles for the seeds of that state of culture to which we have now reached. I hope you will allow me to compliment you upon the terse and vigorous language in which your views are put forth."—*William Craik Esq., M.A., Calcutta.*

"I think you prove conclusively that Celtic civilisation (so-called) in these islands is pure myth. The only wonder is that such an opinion could ever have taken hold"—*James Rankin, Esq., F.R.A S., M.R.A.S., Examiner in Navigation, Local Marine Board, London.*

"Although I have hitherto taken no special interest in the subject, I have read through the major portion of your little treatise with *very considerable* interest, and it appears to me that you have made out an exceedingly good case."—*Charles W. Sutton, Esq., Chief Librarian, Public Free Libraries of the City of Manchester.*

DIPROSE, BATEMAN & Co., Printers, Sheffield Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.